

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Weatherman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 44

SERIALS 2554

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2612

FBI

Date: FEB 11 1969

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS

[REDACTED]

For the additional information of the Bureau and offices receiving copies of this communication, the "New Left Notes" issue of 2/5/69, page one, carried an article entitled "SDS and Panthers to Celebrate Huey's Birthday." This article stated that HUEY P. NEWTON's birthday celebration rallies will be held in 20 cities across the U.S. on 2/16 and 2/17/69, and that the BPP has issued directives to local Panther organizations to plan and organize rallies in cooperation with SDS and other white radical organizations.

[REDACTED]

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
1-105-165706 (BPP)
- 4 - San Francisco (RM)
2-157-1204 (BPP)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
1-157-1291 (BPP)

ELS:djk
(26)

REC 44

100-439048-2554
10 FEB 13 1969

INT. SEC.

3 FEB 20 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 100-40903

The article further stated SDS speakers will be part of the programs in several cities, and that these rallies will focus on the necessity of freeing NEWTON.

Copies of this communication are being made to designated offices inasmuch as it is felt these forthcoming SDS-BPP rallies will likely be held in their respective Divisions.

Chicago is following this matter extremely close and will keep the Bureau and all offices advised of all additional pertinent information developed regarding this matter.

PERSONAL

Washington Bureau
Pewsters-Hall Building
1257 National Press Bldg
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear

Your perceptive analysis of their tactics and objectives should do much to alert the American people to the continuing menace posed to our educational systems by this group. Knowledge of their insidious philosophies is one of the best means which can be used to combat their efforts to disrupt our society.

Sincerely,

Edgar

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Bishop (sent with cover memo)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (sent with cover memo)
1 - M. A. Jones (sent with cover memo)
1 - C. D. Brennan (sent with cover memo)

NOTE: "Mr. [redacted] is on the Special Agent's List and has been placed under surveillance." On 7-28-69, [redacted] in New York City advised SA [redacted] that he had obtained "information from [redacted]"

REC 11

100-439071-3555

18 FEB 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 2/14/69

FROM : T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Attached is an advance copy of a story by Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith prepared for release February 15, 1969. This column effectively shows the subversive activity and planning of the SDS on college campuses for the coming spring months and shows the SDS as behind the fomenting of student uprisings, demonstrations and violence occurring in the colleges and high schools throughout the United States.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Robert S. Allen concerning his most effective article exposing the SDS plans for fomenting trouble on college campuses.

Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

57 MAR 4 1969

56 APR 11 1969

EX-114

REC 12

100-439048-2556

17 FEB 18 1969

PUBLISHERS HALL SYNDICATE
30 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith

Washington, Feb. 15, 1969: Conclusive evidence is in the hands of congressional investigators disclosing the existence of a detailed plan for fomenting student uprisings, agitational demonstrations and other disturbances and violence in universities and high schools throughout the country.

Instigator of this nationwide conspiracy is the revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), in close alliance with the extremist Black Panther party.

Some 300 representatives of SDS, the Black Panthers, Progressive Labor Party (a pro-Red Chinese communist faction), and other radical elements deliberated this sinister plot at an unpublicized meeting at Princeton University early this month.

Primary basis of their discussion was a five-page SDS tract titled "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools: A National Winter-Spring Offensive."

Throughout the document is undeviating communist doctrine. In tenor, terminology and every other aspect, it is undiluted party line ideology and policy. It's pure vintage communism, including its characteristic racist appeal to negroes.

Great emphasis is placed on portraying them as the spearhead of the "mass anti-war and anti-imperialist offensive."

"In effect," proclaims the SDS tract, "the struggle of the blacks in the U.S. is a people's struggle; a war of liberation that is being fought within the U.S. at this time."

100-439048-2556
ENCLOSURE

To "denote the mid-point" of the "spring-winter offensive," the SDS calls for a "mass mobilization in Washington in early April."

Its purpose is summarized as follows: "This mobilization will be the clearest presentation, since 1965, of SDS' political position: Support for black liberation; immediate withdrawal (from Vietnam); smash imperialism....The war remains, with the black struggle, the primary embodiment of American capitalism....We must no longer merely resist imperialism, we must mobilize the people to combat it."

RED SNAKE-OIL

To fuel the "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools" offensive among university and high school students throughout the country, the SDS propounds the following five demands:

No ROTC

No war or counter-insurgency research

No military or war recruiting

No draft assemblies in high schools

No high school sending of names to draft boards.

In urging this out-and-out communist agitational attack, SDS stresses two points:

"(1) This struggle should not be seen primarily as a university struggle; it is necessary to make students fight the universities not as students but as radicals attacking American imperialism. This means that, of necessity, it is more than a fight at the universities. The war is racist as well as imperial.

The fodder of the war is black and working class youth (30 percent of the soldiers in Vietnam and over 50 percent of all casualties are black). Our program must encompass off-campus as well as on-campus actions, especially around

high schools. We must articulate and demonstrate the class nature of these military institutions, as well as their racist nature — that ROTC supplies the officers and high schools supply the G.I.'s for imperialist wars.

"(2) A nationwide attack on the ROTC would severely hurt the military. ROTC exists in 348 campuses and in many midwest high schools; in some places it is compulsory.In the case of high school demands, a coordinated university-high school attack will begin the articulation of the growing rebellions of black and white high school students in the direction of a permanent radical movement."

THE RED-HOTS

Listed as planners and organizers of the April 12-13 "mass mobilization in Washington" are the following:

"Lewis Cole, Columbia SDS; Dick Fried, New Jersey regional; Juan Gonzales, Columbia; Mike Kazin, Harvard; Eric Mann, N. England reg.; Bob Kirkman, NYU; Tom Hurwitz, Columbia; Roger Lipman, U. of Washington; Chip Marshall, Niagra; Joe Kelly, Niagra region; Jim Tarlau, Princeton; Jean Weissman, WDRU; Dan Swimney, WDRU."

Under the subtitle "Strategy," the SDS tract directs that chapters adopt the five demands as the basis for local drives in universities and high schools, and for initiating "militant actions around these demands immediately after the Washington march."

Repeatedly the document stresses that these demands "must always be made explicitly anti-racist as well as anti-imperialist."

This is essential, it is explained, in order to "coordinate organizing and local actions on a long term basis around a national program and as a larger strategy."

In pursuing this "larger strategy," the SDS tract lays down one stern rule:

admonition — make sure to retain "complete control."

"While we should be open to working with people in other organizations," says the directive, "we must undertake to keep the organizational implementation of the program completely under our control; that is, fund raising, tactics, literature, advertising, travel, etc."

Also strongly advised is that "initial contacts in high schools be made with black groups."

The following is outlined as a possible regional model for the "winter-spring offensive":

"February: Develop a petition city-wide drive for an end to military in the schools; prepare the organizational apparatus necessary for this struggle.

"March: Intensive organizing, teach-ins, demonstrations, publicity on the war, racism, the march on Washington; low-level campus activity and inter-university activity.

"April 12-13: March on Washington. Support of black liberation. Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

"April 14-20: March on local board of education; demand end of 'general diploma' as a ticket to the Army for blacks; picketing of recruiting stations; attack on draft center; petition for a call for a general strike of students if demands not met by May 1.

"May 1: General student strike which continues to build from the first day; non-negotiability of the demands and the struggle."

Strong emphasis is placed on the thesis that "the demands and the struggle must be non-negotiable."

World-famed Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) is singled out as a special target for a "region-wide attack as a war-making institution." It is the

only university expressly mentioned by name in the SDS tract.

OUTSPOKEN CHALLENGER

In the blunt opinion of Representative William Scherle, R-Iowa, member of the House Education and Labor Committee, the time has come for forthright action against the instigators of student uprisings and disturbances.

This committee handles all legislation dealing with federal aid to education. Scherle feels that taxpayers are fed up with coddling "hate-mongers." He advocates cracking down on them and putting an end to providing well-paid forums for them to preach violent doctrines.

"No one believes more in the right of free speech than I do," says Scherle, "but free speech does not mean we should or must listen to these extremists. Nor does a man's right to speak carry with it the right to a nationwide audience. It is a sad commentary that extremists, radicals and misfits are in great demand by college forums.

"Responsible America has been asleep while the rabble-rousers, the riff-raff and loud-mouth demagogues have pretended to speak for it, capturing the headlines and giving the nation a black eye.

"What this country needs is a resurgence of authority by the responsible majority. We need to take the microphone away from the Stokely Carmichaels, the Rep Browns, the Tom Hayden, the Jerry Rubins, David Dellinger and others of their ilk. We can do this not by denying them the right to speak, but by denying them an audience."

100-439048-2657

CHANGED TO

100-451119-6

4/19
APR 17 1969 *62*

with 140

F B I

Date: 2/13/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-47205) (C)
 SUBJECT: CHANGED
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS),
 IS - SDS
 POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION NORTHERN
 ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY (NIU),
 DE KALB, ILLINOIS
 FEBRUARY 7, 1969
 IS - M
 STAG

The title of this case has been changed to include the addition of Students For A Democratic Society in the title.

Re Chicago teletypes dated 2/5/69 and 2/7/69 captioned, "Possible Demonstration, Northern Illinois University (NIU), De Kalb, Illinois, 2/7/69, IS - M, STAG".

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

The enclosed LHM is classified _____ since it contains information from a source, the disclosure of whose identity could adversely affect the security of the United States.

100-439048-2558
 REC-23
 Bureau (RM)
 (1-100-
 Chicago (1-100-40903)

17 FEB 14 1969

ENCLOSURE

APR 16 1969

Sent

M Per

62-115524-7
UNCL. COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. FILED

CG 100-47205

-The files of the Chicago Office do not contain sufficient information to characterize [REDACTED] b7C

Copies of this LHM are being furnished to the United States Attorney, Secret Service, Chicago, and local military, who were previously advised telephonically of pertinent details.

The Chicago Office is following developments at NIU closely and will keep the Bureau advised. No further active investigation is warranted in this matter at this time and it is being placed in a closed status.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois 60604
February 13, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CG 100-47205

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS),
POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION NORTHERN
ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY (NIU),
DE KALB, ILLINOIS
FEBRUARY 7, 1969

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised [REDACTED] that a meeting was held on February 4, 1969, at 330 College Street, De Kalb, Illinois, and attended by approximately 50 NIU students. Source advised that the meeting was held under the leadership of Steve Frank, SDS President at the NIU chapter, and John Votava, organizer for the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) at NIU. b7d

Source stated that the meeting was called primarily to discuss the pending dismissal of Peter Roman, instructor, Department of Political Science, NIU. Source stated that Roman is being dismissed because of his failure to complete his doctoral requirements. Source added that Roman has been associated with the new left movement at NIU and was the editor of the NIU underground newspaper "News From Nowhere".

Source advised that a decision was made at the above mentioned meeting to pass out leaflets at noon on February 7, 1969, at the NIU student center calling for the rehiring of Roman and a proposal to turn the university book store into a cooperative. Source advised that if enough interest could be generated at the time the leaflets are passed out, the possibility exists that some type of demonstration may occur on campus. Source offered the opinion that there is not enough student strength to carry out an effective demonstration.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE FIELD OFFICES AND SAC'S
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 9/22/77 hhd/la

DECLASSIFIED ON 9/22/77
BY 100016922

ENCLOSURE

2558

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS),
POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION NORTHERN
ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY (NIU),
DE KALB, ILLINOIS
FEBRUARY 7, 1969

[REDACTED] that an open meeting of approximately 200 NIU students, under the sponsorship of SDS and YSA took place at the NIU student union, De Kalb, Illinois. Source advised that Steve Frank and John Votava were present at the meeting, and that it was chaired by Doctor David L. Wagner, Assistant Professor of History, NIU.

[REDACTED] that David L. Wagner, NIU, had given a "helping hand" to the campus authorized chapter of SDS at NIU.

[REDACTED] advised that during the meeting of February 7, 1969, some NIU students advocated the seizure of the NIU Watson-Revis Office Towers, specifically the fourth floor where faculty member Peter Roman maintains an office in the Department of Political Science. A show of hands was requested by Steve Frank of those who favor the seizure of Watson-Revis Towers. 50 students raised their hands, but a black Ethiopian exchange student Abbie Yellah (phonetic) rose and said, "there are 50 cops in that building". Source advised that the show of hands dwindled to 15 who favored seizure of Watson-Revis Towers. Thereafter, an attempt to organize a seizure party collapsed and students drifted away from the meeting and the discussion turned to alternate issues.

[REDACTED] that NIU President Rhoten A. Smith was shaken by the above events and was fearful of a building takeover. Source added that President Smith was under pressure by De Kalb citizens and taxpayers for his "liberal" handling of NIU affairs. Smith was also fearful of his dismissal because of citizens pressure on the Illinois legislature.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS),
POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION NORTHERN
ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY (NIU),
DE KALB, ILLINOIS
FEBRUARY 7, 1969**

[REDACTED] advised
that Rhoten Smith's black assistants have been recruiting
black parolees from Illinois State Penal Institutions
to attend NIU on the so called "chance" program. Three such
parolees began attending NIU on February 4, 1969. b7d

[REDACTED] that parolees on
the "chance" program receive a \$1,800 yearly scholarship
with no admission requirements or any grading system. b7d

[REDACTED] b7C

Characterizations of the SDS and YSA appear in
the appendix section attached hereto.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The National Headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

On October 31, 1967, a second source advised that at the 22nd National Convention of the SWP held in New York City from October 26, 1967, to October 29, 1967, it was stated that the YSA remained as the main recruiting ground for new SWP members.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

To: _____

Director _____

Special Service _____

Assistant _____

SAC _____

ASAC _____

Supv. _____

Agent _____

SE _____

IC _____

CC _____

Steno _____

Clerk _____

FILE _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

Attached are two copies of "New Left Notes", Vol. 4 # 4, issue of 1/20/69. These copies do not have to be retained for evidentiary purposes.

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

REC 27

NOT RECORDED

12 FEB 19 1969

SAC

Office

Chicago

59 APR 15 1969

See reverse side

1969

SDS takes on HUAC's liberal face

By Michael Kennedy

SDS National Secretary

In an attempt to shake its circus-clovn image and gain some type of legitimacy, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is preparing to investigate SDS with a new, liberal make-up on its Edwin Willis-scarred face.

The nature of the up-coming investigation is not yet clear. There are indications that SDS people (old infiltrators excepted) won't be called on to testify. Rep. Richard Ichord, a "liberal" Democrat from Missouri, who presently heads the committee, has announced that fewer summons would be handed out to hostile witnesses.

"I won't hesitate to call a hostile witness," he said, "but there is no purpose in bringing a Commie before the committee and asking him questions on which he is going to take the 5th (amendment)."

HUAC's New Image

In the face of a confrontation with SDS (which is not likely to take the 5th) HUAC is attempting to take on a new liberal image. Rep. Louis B. Stokes (D-Ohio), brother of Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, was named as HUAC's token Negro along with Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), a liberal appointee. Pepper has been critical for some time of HUAC's activities and was added as a part of efforts by the leadership of the Democratic Party to improve the committee's image. Stokes was named over another "House Negro," Rep. William Clay (D.-Mo.) to the HUAC seat.

"A more constructive perspective is needed on the

committee if the House fails to abolish it," said Stokes. "If its purpose of existing can be reconstructed from witch-hunting, character-attacking, and maligning to providing a forum for communication between the disaffected and the United States government, a meaningful and useful purpose could be served."

Chairman Ichord has introduced a bill to change the name of the committee to "Internal Security," which he says will better describe its intended task.

After Jerry Rubin and Co. turned HUAC into the laughing stock of the ruling class last December, it seems that a few people upstairs got uptight and decided to transform the committee into a relatively useful arm of the domestic counter-insurgency program. This makes SDS's upcoming confrontation with HUAC important.

Confrontation and education around the HUAC investigation of SDS could serve many functions in building our movement. First and foremost, the HUAC hearings could serve as an opportunity to fight anti-communism and its many forms present within the movement today.

People called to testify before the committee (if any) could try and use the national focus on SDS to explain our position on the war, racism, imperialism and capitalism in a way that would make revolutionary politics relevant to the needs of the people of this country. That would be the best attack possible on institutionalized anti-communism. Literature could also be produced for mass distribution explaining the nature of imperialism and its domestic ramifications, such as the growing police state, the militarization of the

society, the world economic crisis as felt here in the U.S., growing institutionalized racism and the emergence or surfacing of fascism.

The HUAC hearings should also give us the impetus to begin mapping out city-wide defense strategies across the country. We must begin to develop a revolutionary theory of defense, defense of the movement as well as defense of the people. The nature of class society will bring the people into perpetual conflict with the police power of the state. It is revolutionary to be able to deal with the problem of people's defense.

Security, Defense Necessary

We must wage an attack on the class nature of the courts, police and all of the state's instruments of repression (like HUAC). There is also a necessity as part of this defense strategy to deal with "internal security" ourselves. If Ichord is afraid to call "Commies" before his committee, he probably has a whole line-up of Phillip Abbot Luce in the wings. In the past few months, many of us have begun to see more clearly than ever how the man works inside the movement.

Finally, the investigation of SDS could serve to unify large sectors of the left behind SDS around clear anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist politics. We should use the national focus HUAC gives us to reach out to other organizations and other movement people in an attempt to build the organization, new members, raise money and see possibilities building alliances and coalitions. This is a task we must take very seriously.

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

CONSIDER:

criticism of racism
resolution...3

S F S...3,4
more on youth...1.6
movement...1.6

NLF and

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

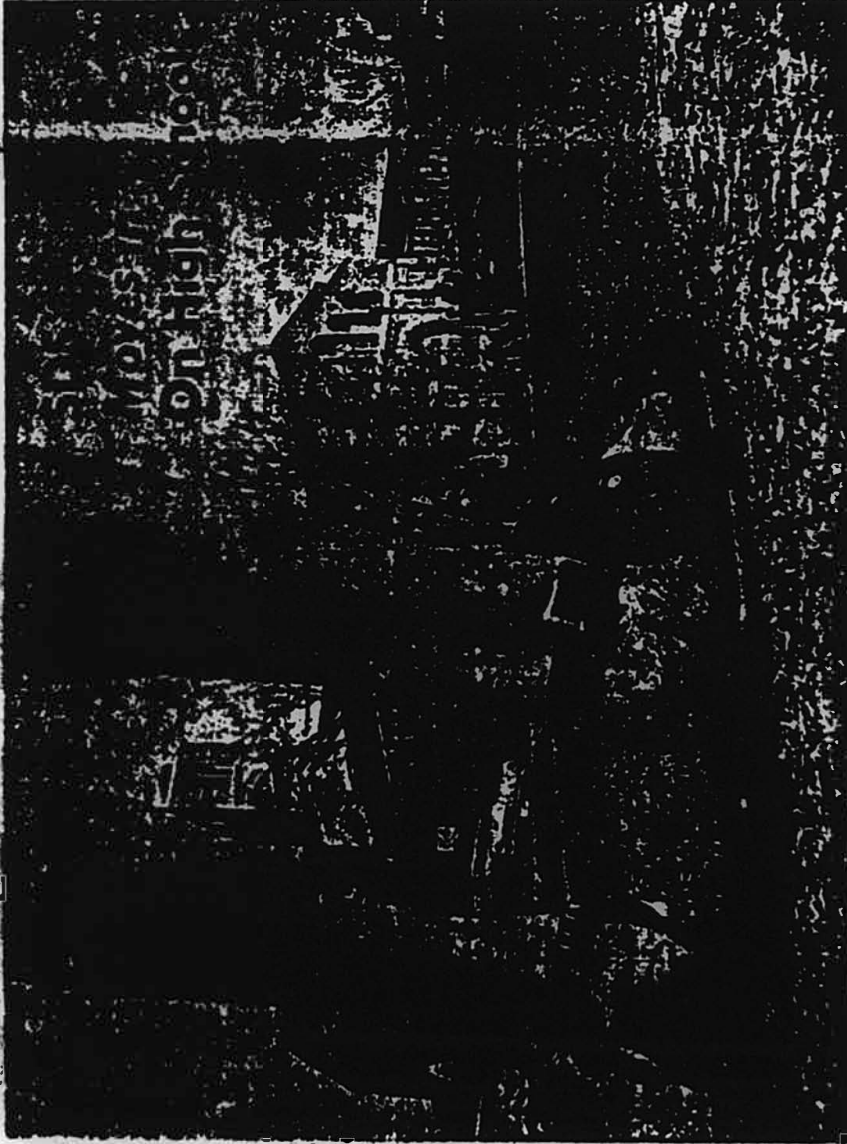
Colorado SDS joins fight against racist Denver schools

by John Buttney

U. of Colorado (Boulder) SDS

Cole Junior High School, located in the black community in Denver, has a student body which is 95 percent non-white and a faculty which is mostly white. Last week the tensions created and sustained by this blatantly racist structure came to a head when two white teachers and six to eight black students engaged in a physical confrontation. In response to this fight the teachers at Cole drew up a list of 27 demands and voted on them. The demands were adopted as representing the wishes of the teachers at Cole by a 75 to 5 vote. The list includes continuation of a "padding policy." It seems parents either consent to having their children beaten, as a disciplinary measure, or to having their children immediately suspended. Other items on the list: armed police in the school, immediate suspension for being late to any class, suspension of all social activities until further notice, a dress code which prohibits the wearing of anything that might identify you with, or show support for, any political or social organization, and (treatment by a psychiatrist for any student who doesn't fit.

These demands now have to be voted on by the Denver school board, but police were called in immediately because of imminent danger to the faculty and administration. The



Parents of ruling class shows in front page picture from January 22 Denver Post

NEW LEFT NOTES

Room 206
1008 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612

RETURN REQUESTED

Second-class postage
rate paid in Chicago,
Illinois

100-4139046-2831

Dartmouth builds student-worker alliance

John Sprinkle,
Dartmouth SDS, N.E. Staff

The ELAP proposal for a student-worker alliance has been discussed at great length on a theoretical level. The following account of its application in practice may help to illustrate its potential value in building chapters on a good basis. Dartmouth last spring with anti-ROTC strength, and continuing with election activities and the recent blocking of an Army recruiter, Dartmouth SDS has been building a student-worker alliance and learning to employ a pro-working-class strategy to student struggles.

The first fairly well-conscious attempt to ally with working people grew out of last spring's anti-ROTC struggle which began with SDS calling for a demonstration against ROTC's presence on campus. Unfortunately, however, as D-Day approached, the chapter tended to lose sight of the politics of the demonstration and became more pre-occupied with the tactics of frightening the hell out of a pesky administration.

An Ivory Tower?

On D-Day 300 people out of a student body of 3,000 showed up. The chapter turned the demonstration into a mass meeting which then decided to meet again that night to discuss how to keep the ball rolling. At this meeting our failure to buy a good political basis for the demonstration became apparent. Most of the speakers wanted to begin an anti-ROTC battle to persuade the college to sever ROTC-Dartmouth ties. Furthermore, while everyone agreed to circulate an anti-ROTC/pacifist flyer, many people wanted it to avoid mention of the war and say simply that ROTC was "incongruous with a liberal arts education."

Secretary discussed, 600 students signed the petition, many joined or came closer to SDS, and all had placed themselves in alliance with Vietnamese workers in alliance with the ruling class. Although the concept of a student-worker alliance certainly doesn't exclude direct student-worker contact, it is interesting to note that in this particular struggle the student-worker alliance did not involve students "organizing" or even talking to a single worker.

Workers Friendly

To buildings and grounds men at the college and to workers at neighboring factories we passed out leaflets which described the recent government strike-busting at a military shipyard to illustrate how the government uses warships in Vietnam to fight militant Vietnamese working people just as it uses state power at home to oppress the American workers who build the warships. We went on to show how the government and all the major presidential candidates serve big business, and concluded by explaining why workers should support the campus anti-ROTC struggle, why SDS would fight against student scabs, and why a student-worker alliance should be built.

The response to the leaflets was friendly. Many people at first thought we were leading for a particular candidate and asked unenthusiastically, "Which one is it this time?" When we said, "None of them; the elections are just a hoax," our leaflets became quite an attraction. At a textile plant two excited women, after reading the leaflet, stepped work and came out to get a stack of leaflets to give to the women inside whom we had mislaid. They told us our stuff was the best election literature they had seen. A friend of mine

by the bosses. 2) Students are exploited financially by the high cost of a college education which, since it only trains us to work for big business, should be paid for by the bosses, not by working people. 3) We are also exploited intellectually by a big-business controlled education designed to turn us against working people, make us ignorant of their (our) history and struggles, and instill in us anti-struggle, pro-boss ideas. 4) We are bribed by ROTC to join the Army Brass, scab on our fellow GIs, and order them to "fight and die in the bosses' money-making war against Vietnamese farmers and workers."

When we showed our proposed leaflet to the workers before deciding to

however, seeing the necessity for a worker-student alliance around this key issue, leafleted college buildings and grounds workers with a leaflet making the following points: 1) Officers are scabs because, in return for high pay and special privileges, they force GIs to do all the dirty work, and risk death or injury, fighting a boss' war against Vietnamese farmers and workers. 2) Students blocked recruitment because they didn't want the bosses' Army getting any scab officers at Dartmouth. 3) The Trustees of the College are big businessmen who encourage students to scab when College employees go on strike and likewise encourage students to become scab officers.

New Left Notes

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distribute it, we thought they might object to the attack on ROTC and the

When put this way, we found we had more support among college employees

majority at the meeting, but we won a large majority away from their moralistic, but-very tower position and towards an essentially pro-working-class position. We argued that the moralistic spot was bad because it led students to depend on the consciences of the ruling-class trustees rather than on the strength of a broad-based student movement.

Pro-working-class

We criticized the ivory-tower position on the grounds that it was really a selfish demand that we should else fight the war, but not make this a movement built on this basis; would support the ruling class and its policy of getting working-class guys to fight the war. Also, to say that ROTC should be kicked off campus simply because it was incompatible with a liberal arts education implied that ROTC would be responsible at a working-class vocational school.

The position which SDS, and eventually the majority, took was that the petition should condemn ROTC because it oppressed Vietnamese working people, not because it solved a non-existent ivory tower; and instead of relying on the Trustees, we should rely on mass student support built on a pro-working-class basis.

Within two weeks of intensive

women had eagerly folded our leaflets and kept them—perhaps, as one woman told us, to show to their husbands.

Strike Support

Shortly after the elections we heard about a machinists' strike at Bryant Co. in Springfield, Vt., a nearby industrial town. We joined the picket line and introduced ourselves as college students in SDS who thought that students and working people should help each other. They were very friendly and quite happy to have outside support of any kind. They didn't know anything about SDS, but said it was about time students woke up to the fact that they should be on the side of working people. In talking with the strikers about how we could help out, we decided to leaflet the town's shopping centers to explain the strike demands, urge people to donate to the strike fund, and explain why we, as students, were supporting the strike.

The last point, to which more than half our two-page leaflet was devoted, was important to include, because otherwise our support might have been misinterpreted as a form of charity instead of a political alliance for mutual benefit. Under the heading "Why Students Too Must Fight the Bosses" we made the following points: 1) Students become white-collar workers and are exploited

points we think about. Yeah, our kids get the same thing."

Each day a few members of the chapter walked the picket line and discussed our politics, while others leafleted the town and had similar conversations with working people at the shopping centers. Imperialism, foreign and domestic, was easy to discuss when one of the workers explained to us that Bryant Co. was owned by Ex-Cell-O Corp., which had huge plants in India where labor was cheap. He also described how the Personnel Director for Bryant Co. was on the local school board which instructed the schools to do Bryant's job training for them at public expense.

Meanwhile, on campus, SDS was preparing for a demonstration (with the same pro-working-class politics as the previous anti-ROTC struggle) against Army recruiting. Unfortunately, most of the demonstrating students made no distinction between GIs getting drafted and officers getting recruited. Consequently they failed to see the need to ally not only with Vietnamese workers but also with working-class GIs. These students, although they forcibly obstructed the recruiter, felt that working people, being pro-GI, would never support them. Other students,

most guys seemed just curious, some said they supported us, and only one argued vehemently that he had a son in Vietnam and we had no right to block the recruiter. He hadn't yet read the leaflet, so I made the point in conversation, and as he parted he said in a more friendly, doubting tone, "I don't know...."

At Bryant Co., where the strike had since grown much more militant in an effort to prevent merchandise from leaving the plant, the strikers thought blocking the recruiter was great, and some even offered to help SDS in the future. Their attitude was: "So you stopped the bastard; not bad."

Benefits of Strategy

The student-worker alliance strategy had not only increased off-campus support for SDS, but also helped the chapter grow stronger on campus. A lot of new members have come in this year because SDS now seems to have a more serious strategy than the chapter's previous activism of frustration and isolation. Building a student-worker alliance, especially factory leafleting and strike support, also did wonders to develop in students that basic trust in the people which is vital, and without which the student movement will remain isolated and paralyzed.

PURGE

If your New Left Notes mailing label contains a code number with 67 in it (e.g., M. T. Tung P 67), your subscription to NLN has expired. So has your SDS national membership. Please send us \$5 immediately to avoid missing a single exciting issue of NLN.

SDS, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612

Enclosed is \$5 to continue my membership in SDS. Please continue to send me NLN! I don't want to miss a single exciting issue! I have also enclosed _____ to help SDS in the difficult days ahead.

Name _____

Old Address _____

ZIP _____

New Address _____
(optional)

ZIP _____

Racism resolution misses the point

by Wayne Drazin
Siena/Oklahoma Regional Traveler

That the "December National Council," program dealing with the need to fight racism was passed. The implementation portion of this program is, for the most part, quite excellent. The analysis of the program, however, is incomplete and in great part incorrect.

The main fault of the program's analysis is the manner in which it deals with the national question. Under a heading which calls on SDS to "Defeat Nationalism," the program states: "Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students."

Revolutionary Nationalism

This shows a lack of understanding of the way black people are oppressed in America and of the struggle which is being waged to cast off that oppression. It does not deal with the question of revolutionary nationalism.

Black people in the United States are exploited and oppressed. They are exploited and oppressed as workers by those who own and control the means of production and distribution. This ruling class exploits and oppresses them to a greater extent than it does

TODAY WE'RE GOING TO TALK ABOUT NEGROES IN AMERICA. WE HAVE JUST TALKED ABOUT NEGROES IN AMERICA. NOW ON TO THE PRINCIPLES BATTLES OF....

Communism = slavery

Tom Lindsay/HIPS

white workers; by giving a little more to the white worker, they attempt to make him believe that this division is in his economic interest. They use the propaganda tools at their disposal (educational institutions, mass media, etc.) to maintain the racist myth that blacks are inferior—a myth which was developed to rationalize the institution of slavery. The Student-Worker Alliance Racism Program correctly points this out.

Quite often these attempts succeed. Historically white workers have believed it to be in their interest to

maintain these divisions, and have done their utmost to maintain them. This has put white people into the position of overtly oppressing black people. The fact that white people are acting against their own long-term interest, and are acting as unconscious agents of the ruling class, in no way negates their actions.

As pointed out above, the bringing of slaves to America caused the development of a myth: that these slaves—black people—were inherently inferior. This myth had a material basis. Slavery was necessary to the

agrarian development of the United States, and this slavery had to be rationalized into Christian ethics. The myth was created, believed, and passed on. It became institutionalized. It became a psychological concept in and of itself, no longer necessarily relating to the economic position of blacks. It was accepted that blacks should "stay in their place". These concepts even became internalized among black people, who saw themselves defining this myth.

Economic conditions changed. By the time of the Civil War, the United States was well on the road to becoming an industrial nation. The defeat of the Confederacy further intensified this direction. The position of blacks also changed. They were "free"—free to become wage slaves, theoretically "equal" to white wage slaves. The racist consciousness, however, remained. Blacks could not be equal. They were still regarded, and regarded themselves, as inferior beings.

Psychological oppression makes necessary material oppression. Those who are regarded as inferior will obviously be given inferior material positions in society. The psychological oppression of blacks by whites therefore made necessary the material oppression of blacks by whites.

People must organize against their common oppression and exploitation. Workers must unite to fight against

(continued on page 5)

SF State: 650 busted, strike continues

SAN FRANCISCO STRIKE The strike continued strong last week with picket lines and a mass rally Saturday. The Squad pigs arrested 186 Wednesday; 459 Thursday in the largest mass arrest the city has ever seen. The Thursday arrests came at a big outdoor rally called by the Third World Liberation Front. Central committee members of the Student-Worker Alliance were arrested.

SAN FRANCISCO: "Do you have any strong feelings about the Vietnam war that would bias you toward the defendants?" is the first question a prospective juror must answer if he is to try the Oakland 7. This stone political trial of the Oakland 7 opened in San Francisco Jan. 13.

While many articulated more a sympathy for the students, and bail was posted for most of the arrests at the rally were for not attending the rally and bail was posted within six hours of the arrests. But the pigs kept most students in jail for 34 to 36 hours, sometimes in solitary and sometimes dripping wet from being hosed down in their cells.

Two proposals were made at a meeting Saturday to deal with defense strategy. One, to hire a mass trial and carry the struggle into the courts; and two, to demand 450 individual jury trials, which would tie up the courts for years. Although a final decision has not been made, many believe that the first alternative is the most principled and the most effective.

When asked if there would be more mass arrests, president Rayburn answered emphatically: "There will be no more mass arrests when there are no more money."

Money is desperately needed for bail of those arrested at San Francisco State. People arrested on Wednesday and Thursday had to post more than \$16,000 in BOND. As the struggle continues, more funds will be needed. Contact Barrish Ball Bonds, 869 Bryant St., San Francisco.

REVERLEY: Black and Third World groups picked the control of a Third World college at Berkeley last week. Rains affected the picket line, and many students became less sympathetic after a \$500,000 fire in Wheeler Auditorium, leaving the striking students were responsible. Striking groups disavow any knowledge of the cause of the fire.

While radicals and campus unions have declared support for the strike, in conditions. Old week.

PORTER HIGH SCHOOL, New Orleans: Boycotting students at Porter are demanding the removal of black students, a course in black history, an end to the removal of black students, and the removal of Porter's "teacher of the year" award.

Further high school students followed the violent removal of 34 Porter students during earlier demonstrations.

The school administration does not plan to negotiate on the demands. They feel the demands would be entered with a vengeance.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY: Teachers' strike and student boycott has practically brought the school to a standstill.

The teachers' strike started Jan. 1 when the school board refused to negotiate a 1980 contract. Students picketed with a "sympathy boycott" which has been largely successful.

DALLAS, LTV: A subsidiary of Ling-Tamco Vought Inc. has purchased three colleges. The company, part of one of the biggest military aircraft producers, recently purchased three Texas business schools to, as

side has exhausted its challenges.

On the first day of the trial, about 250 people tried to demonstrate inside the courtroom. They were dispersed, with head injuries to one demonstrator and the arrest of a second.

To rally community support and publicize the nature of the trial, a three-day Commission of Inquiry into the Vietnam war and domestic repression was held in Berkeley Jan. 16-18. Speakers such as Bobby Seale, David Horowitz, Tom Hayden, and G. William Domagala held out the class nature of the legal system, the workings of U.S. imperialism and racism in Vietnam and around the world, and the nature of U.S. capitalism.

The Oakland 7 held a press conference Jan. 27 to announce their support for the 37 GIs being charged with murdering (a possible death sentence) for holding a nonviolent sit-in protesting the murder of a fellow GI at San Francisco's Presidio Army Base riotade. The Seven plan to spend the court martial Jan. 31.

NEW YORK: Corporate recorders are starting to hit the junior college hard. Apparently employers like junior college grads better than high school grads. As one business man puts it, the junior college graduate "has sufficient education to do a good job and insufficient education to become dissatisfied quickly."

PARIS: High school students in Paris clashed with police Jan. 23 after a meeting of radical students was forbidden and then stopped.

The lycée students (lycée is a combination high school and university preparatory school) fought with police in front of the Sorbonne in the Latin Quarter. Students were evicted from the offices of the rector of the University of Paris, which they had invaded.

Some of the lycée student demands are the same as those of university students last spring—overcrowding, old-fashioned educational concepts, socially unfair admissions policies and study programs that fail to take into account the job possibilities existing.

STEVESVILLE, GEORGIA: Nineteen students were arrested Jan. 15 when black students tried to march from their school to a white high school a mile away. The next day fire swept through school buildings and teachers in the community mounted. Disturbances date back to early December when two black sisters, aged 11 and 14, were arrested for "obscene remarks."

MADRID, SPAIN: Student unrest spread throughout Spain following the sentencing of four students to long prison terms. A military court sentenced the four, including a 15-year-old boy, to terms totaling 70 years on charges of setting fire to university property.

Students in Bilbao demonstrated against police brutality there; university officials in Barcelona decided to keep that school closed indefinitely (it was shut last week after violent protests). Students took their protests of the Madrid University campus into the city streets, engaging running battles with police.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON (EUGENE): Fifty black and white students bore last week tried a Naval Air Recruiting team for war crimes; the recruiters were found guilty, and the students removed their literature from a table in the Student Union. After the literature was burned, students returned and burned the Navy emblem from one of the recruiting tables. Then, locking arms, they chased the recruiters off campus. Plans are being made for a visit by Dow next week.

14 busted in Denver boycott

(Continued from page 1)

boycott of classes until police are removed and the school is put in the hands of the black community. The first few days of the boycott were successful, but the school administration began intimidating parents, and students and the boycott fell off. So the Panthers stationed themselves at busy intersections in the vicinity of the school where they could talk to parents and students about the boycott. The police responded to this by arresting five Panthers for loitering.

This was the situation when SDS got involved. At a meeting with the Panthers it was decided that SDS would try to organize a boycott at the 10 high schools in Denver. The next day one high school was leafleted in the morning and one person was arrested. The same school was leafleted again in the afternoon with one more arrest. Following this action SDS members from different chapters in Colorado met to discuss further action. High school students were present at this meeting, which had been scheduled a few weeks before to plan a State SDS Conference.

Contacts Ignored

We decided to leaflet the business section of Denver the next day, not going to high schools in order to give the high school students some time to organize their own people. However, one group of SDS people decided to go back to the first school they had leafleted. They were subsequently attached by a small group of students from that school, and one leafleter was hit on the head with a pipe and required five stitches. That same day other SDS people leafleted the business area as planned, without incident and with a fairly good response. That afternoon we held another meeting to assess the day's action and to plan activity for the next day. Some SDS people wanted to

school and the high school students didn't buy our presence at all. So we decided to go to a school the next day where we had many contacts and where there was supposedly some organization among radical students. When we arrived at that school the next day no students met us. It turned out that the people in charge of contacting the students had been stoned the night before and hadn't done the work necessary. So we leafleted anyway. The pigs came, and this drew a crowd. We gave most of our leaflets to these students, who took them inside and distributed them.

Cops Taunted

The Man gave us five minutes to split and we had decided at our last meeting to avoid arrests at this time. But some people thought it would be cool to taunt the cops and dare them to catch us, etc. (These were the same people who leafleted the high school and brought on the fight.) So the Man responded by calling in 12 squad cars; they pulled 14 people, later releasing 6. Now we have 8 people needlessly tied up in legal hassles and facing a maximum of 90 days and \$300 for loitering.

The rally called for in the leaflet was cancelled when our lack of organization became obvious.

Political Mistakes

This attempt at organizing a boycott has taught us much about the state of the movement in this area. First, we made two fundamental mistakes. We responded to the Panthers' suggestion without assessing our situation carefully. This hurt us and the Panthers. And we did not work with high school students to organize the schools. We imposed ourselves on them. This never works. A high school movement can't

The second thing learned is the necessity for discipline and organization. Many of us feel that a few people, by insisting on "doing their own thing", made the situation far worse than it might have been.

Need for Discipline

The discipline we found lacking is not the kind that demands unquestioning obedience to orders handed down by an elite. The discipline needed is the self-discipline which comes from understanding what it means to build a movement. And this understanding comes from knowing the enemy, it comes from internal education. And by "internal education" I do not mean a lot of "scholarly" bullshit. But people who take pride in not reading Marx because they consider themselves anarchists can only be a hindrance. Education also involves struggle, as this article illustrates. It is in struggle that you learn, for instance, who you can depend on. And the day is coming when one fuck-up will mean more than jail for a few days.

The third result of all this is the beginning of a good coalition with SDS and the Panthers. While we were in jail a Panther was arrested for handing out our leaflets. He ended up in our cell and we had a long time to rap. Now we have a week to plan our State Convention. We hope to be able to deal with these problems and to avoid making the same mistakes again.

Independent caucus sta

We are writing this position for New Left Notes so that our comrades across the country will be aware of the political

front built around the 15 demands of the Third World Liberation Front. The disputed leaflet was never issued, and the by the author student

Garl

This leaflet is about about garbage. Let it classrooms, bathrooms, pile up till they have

Then the city will b janitors who are on strik

The school administrat the garbage so that scho But don't take garbage fr out! Garbage is reality. is really like.

Support your local jar strike. Do not work ag pick up the garbage

When you finish readi dotted line, fold, mutilat floor.

had taken place in order to "conduct the business of the school" and "keep the school running" on the grounds that we did not want to end up fighting in the streets with high school students. At this meeting it was also pointed out that the teachers might have been involved had these people gone along with the collective decision to hold off high school meetings for one day.

By this time we realized one of our basic mistakes. We had not worked through the committee; we had in the

by applying interested students with the same had even political students. But they had their schools and they can also teach us something. Now we are trying to salvage something from the ruins we were left with after the police and the press started working in over. We do have a good list of contacts now—but not many people—it's the list we should have had at the start of this action. And these students are beginning to organize themselves. This also began before our action. We didn't even know about it.

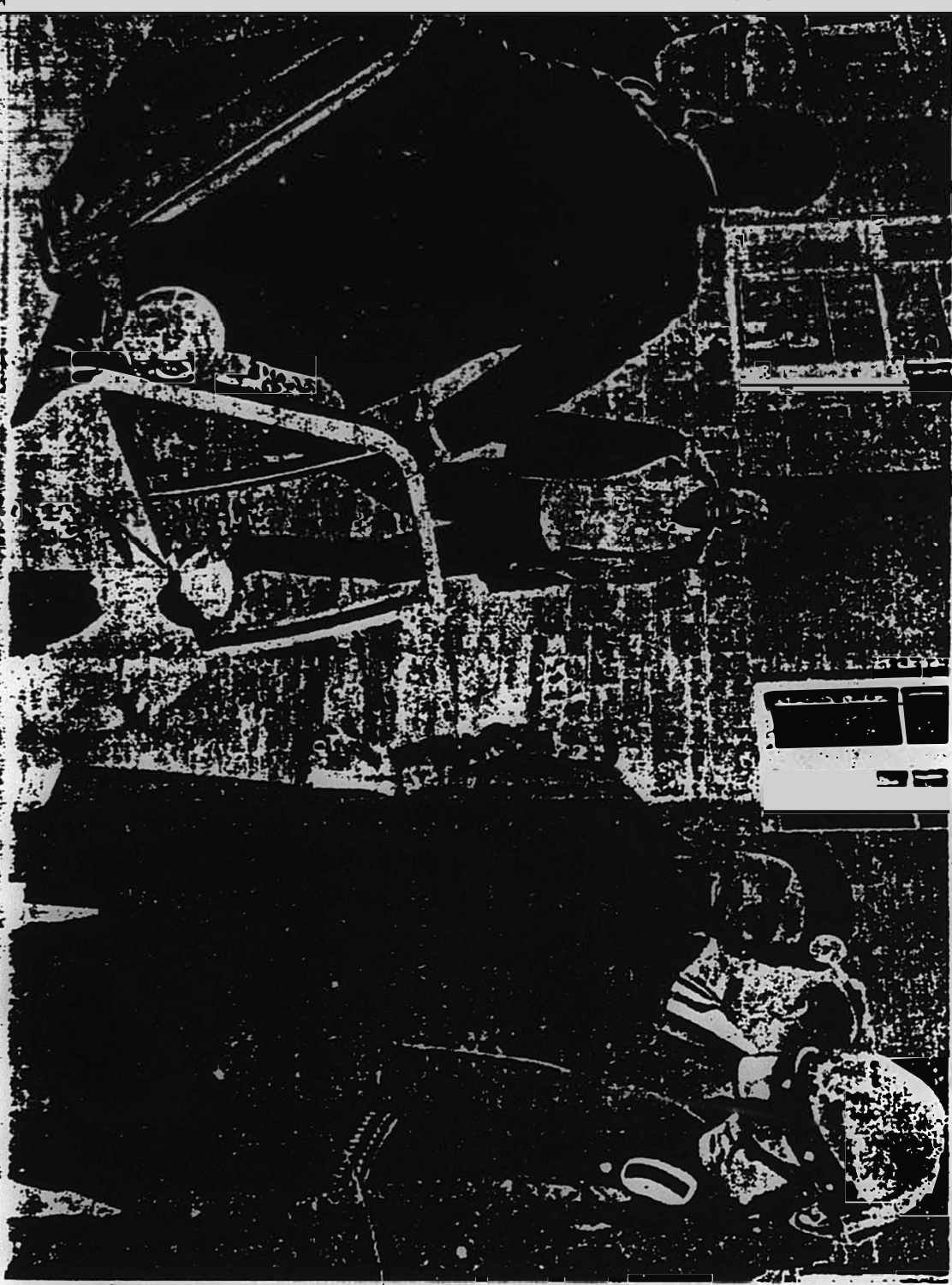
published article at San Francisco State. At the DEC 23 issue of New Left Notes an article appeared entitled "Chapter Position on S.F. State Strike". In fact, this position came out of a small SDS meeting that split 13-9 in favor of issuing a leaflet for the campus that would attack the "Programs", a group of community involvement organizations who are involved in the strike. The nine people who voted against issuing the leaflet agreed with the political criticism of the Programs, but felt that a public leaflet would damage the united

alliance") caucus used the 13-9 vote as authority for publishing THE chapter position in NLN and in a pamphlet "ON STRIKE SHUT IT DOWN", which is signed by the San Francisco State Strike Committee, but was never democratically approved by the Strike Committee.

White Oppression

The Independent Caucus of SDS at S.F. State wishes to voice some of our disagreements with this so-called chapter position and to affirm the existence of other political ideas within the chapter. Our first disagreement is one of emphasis. We feel that the issue of racism has been emphasized, and beyond the class nature of the university. We agree that racism is the primary issue, but we feel that students can not be won to fight racism unless racism is clearly linked with capitalism. In the "Chapter Position" the following phrase is found: "Racism acts as a divisive force keeping oppressed people fighting among one another rather than uniting to fight the common enemy." Naturally this is correct, but the problem is to convince white students that they are oppressed and that there is an enemy to fight. It is a political error to talk about building alliances against common enemies unless you are clear about the need for white students to fight on their own. The Independent Caucus has been active in developing organizing during the strike period. We can see this as a vehicle to expose the oppressive class nature of education. In order to defeat racism and capitalism we must build a mass class conscious white movement that understands the nature of class oppression and alienation within the university, and thus will have something to struggle against that directly affects their own daily lives.

Consequently, departmental organizing movements towards exposing the miseducation received in whole departments. For example, the Psychology department is being exposed as a class institution that attempts to



Revolutionary nationalism

(continued from page 3)

those who exploit them. Black people must unite to fight against their oppression by white people. The ruling class uses this oppression to exploit all workers. Therefore, while white people oppress black people, the real enemy of black people is the ruling class.

Revolutionary black nationalists recognize these facts. Huey Newton, jailed Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and a prime theorist of the black revolutionary nationalist movement in the United States, has said, "Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist, you would by necessity have to be a socialist." (Huey Newton Talks to The Movement, page 4) The revolutionary nationalist is not diverted from struggle on a class basis. He recognizes the position of black people within the working class, and realizes that in order to achieve communism white supremacy must be destroyed. He organizes his people against their exploitation and oppression, against the ruling class and against white supremacy. He is not diverted from making alliances with white workers and students, but, as a revolutionary, allies himself with white revolutionaries.

It is true that in the traditional Marxist sense, black people do not truly form a nation. Stalin defined a nation as "...a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (Marxism and the National Question) Black people in America do not possess a "community of economic life", that is to say, economic cohesion. Therefore, they do not form

a "nation". The oppression faced by black people is, however, very similar to a national oppression. They are oppressed as a people, as well as exploited as workers. Thus, the organizational forms they must assume are quite similar to a national form—revolutionary nationalism.

End of Racism

How should the white revolutionary relate to the revolutionary black national struggle? Lenin, in The Meaning of the Right to Self Determination and Its Relation to Federation (Collected Works, Vol. XIX), said, "The aim of socialism is....not only to bring the nations closer to each other, but to merge them. And in order to achieve this aim, we must, on the one hand, demand the liberation of oppressed nations....Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transitional period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations."

White supremism is integral to capitalism, and will not be totally destroyed until capitalism is destroyed. It is possible, however, to achieve the overthrow of capitalism without achieving the destruction of white supremism. To do so will not bring about a communist society.

White revolutionaries must support the revolutionary national black liberation struggle. We must organize in our own communities against white supremacist thought and practice. Only by doing so will we be able to destroy white supremism as we destroy capitalism.

New I've HEARD all this NONSENSE about the STUDENT as a NIGGER! But, let me say one of my BEST friends are STUDENTS and

With their own kind they seem to ENJOY themselves IMMENSELY...

When: weekend of February 7-9
Where: Ohio State University, Columbus (Hagerty Hall, room 100)
Why: now that we're back from Washington, we've got to do some hard thinking and talking about strategies for organizing this winter and spring--as well as the whole political direction of the region itself.
Friday night: registration & discussion of Guestbooks
Saturday: strategies for a spring offensive (military, racism, and chapter structure)
Sunday: the region: discussion of role of regional staff, lit programs, speakers, films, regional offices

INFORMATION: 1706 1/2 Summit St., Columbus (614) 294-3975

OHIO

PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia area are getting together. The growing radical organizations and attract left liberals who are looking for us to join, and to provide a gathering ant to get to know each other and begin

re: People for Human Rights, Student ing Committee, Penn SDS, and the

end of February 8 at Houston Hall, the program will include small discussion

plenary session.

es position

not serve the needs of the people. part of this general attack on the

his leaflet, tear on the and drop on the nearest

re's union in their just t their strike. Do not

wants us to help pick up ill look clean and neat. anyone. Let it all hang a show what our school

ced to deal with the manding a decent wage.

close the school down.

Wendt's office. Let it

page

school. This leaflet is lect in the hallways,

let on strike last month, drawing administration tried to make the school operations could proceed

active question is avoided by
telling of the PL cancer where
the
and
and I must see that their
He is making the college serve
needs of all working people in
unity and that the only way
the Negro from serving the
of big business and make it
except of the working
for students to ally
is working people and

And the basic question is why
do you care if business is

[illegible]

TEACHERS say if you could be a STUDENT for ONE Saturday afternoon, you'd NEVER want to be a teacher. AGAIN! (duchies) And they're VERY good at SPORTS!



Socialist ideology

Defeating racism and capitalism will require a mass movement of Third World and white workers, students and youth who are clear about the class nature of American society and all its

We welcome comments and criticism on this position from all our comrades and we trust we will be considered as friends of the revolution who are searching for the correct method. We are also interested in corresponding with people in other chapters on the issues we have raised. Please write SDS Independent Caucus c/o Alex Forman, 271 Frederick Street, San Francisco, California 94117.

NIAGARA

Second semester is starting; it's crucial that we begin NOW to develop our spring and summer programs. Two proposals to be discussed are plans for a summer project and an idea for co-ordinated regional action against the military on campus.

Resource people include: Ted Gold, Nick Frankenburg, Jim Jacobs, Mike Klare, Paul Sweazy, Harry Magdoff, Bernardine Dohrn, Steve Halliwell, Norm Fruchter. Albany State Campus, Feb 14-16 registration begins Friday noon free housing available; contact Peter Pollack or Tom Trumpler, c/o Albany SDS, Box 1272, Albany, New York 12201.

It's about time: radicals in the PL movement—student and non-student communities are springing up around the country. This conference has a dual purpose: radical analysis and radical organization point for radical revolutionaries who do co-ordinated work.

Among the sponsoring organizations: Health, Organization, Radical Organizing, Philadelphia Community Organizing.

The conference will be held at the University of Pennsylvania. Saturday groups on where we're going, as well

Klonsky resolution rests on weak analysis

by Don Hamerquist

Carl Davidson has stated (Guardian, Jan. 11) that the Christmas NC meeting of SDS at Ann Arbor marked a major turning point for that organization. I think that Davidson understates the importance of the NC. In fact, it marked a major turning point for the left in this country. For the first time in a number of years, the debate over a revolutionary strategy seems to be coming out from beneath sectarian maneuverings and timeless rhetoric and to be taking on clear significance for the political practice of important mass movement.

The central feature of the NC was the presentation and the narrow passage of the Klonsky resolution—"Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement". The essence of the resolution is the perspective that SDS must become a revolutionary youth movement and not remain an "anti-imperialist student organization". To implement this perspective, the resolution proposes that SDS place immediate organizing priority on those university students who are closest to the working class, both in terms of social origins and of occupational destinations; that a concerted program of youth organizing be begun outside of the higher education structures, in the high schools, in the community, in the army, and at the point of production; that in every organizing area primary emphasis be placed on the development of revolutionary class consciousness.

Weak Analysis

Although the resolution's intentions are extremely important, its analysis

essentially correct, they rest on argumentation and analysis that is very weak. Until this is changed, the new direction and emphasis for which the resolution argues will not be implemented. Most people on the left, both inside and outside of SDS, will not understand the possibility, the necessity, and, above all, the urgency of these changes.

There are three distinct weaknesses in the resolution. It does not make its case for changing SDS from a student organization, primarily because it fails to clearly define the strategic problems facing the development of a revolutionary working class movement in this country. The treatment of the "contradictions that affect youth specifically" is not sufficiently concrete to demonstrate an objective base for building a youth movement that cuts across the class, race, and social role divisions that exist among young people. Its program of implementation is inadequate. It lacks clear policy guidelines in critical areas—the university, point of production, etc.—and no priorities are indicated between a multitude of programmatic and tactical suggestions. In this piece I intend to restrict my criticisms to the first problem.

Define Context

The resolution fails to clearly define the political context in which a revolutionary movement must be built in this country. At various points elements of this political context are indicated or implied, but it is never all pulled together. Of course, there will be no revolution without a mass class conscious working class movement, and only the barest beginnings of such a movement can presently be seen. But there is substantial anti-capitalist sentiment and movement among other

of a meaningful working class revolutionary movement—and nobody denies its absence—if the student-worker alliance is seen as a strategy, its practical organizational content will involve either the subordination of revolutionary student movement to spontaneous trade union reform struggles, or tiny alliances of a campus SDS labor committee and a few class conscious individual workers. It will involve either waiting for the workers, or lecturing the workers about their backwardness—either opportunism or sectarianism, or, most likely, a combination of both.

Of course, if the student-worker alliance is seen, not as a strategy in itself, but as the elementary Marxist premise that it is, it does suggest some valuable tactics and activities. These, however, are not in contradiction with the Klonsky resolution, but, in fact, are subsumed by the strategic framework which it presents.

There is another weakness in the Klonsky resolution that is related to

systematic. The university plays an increasingly important role in the development and maintenance of false, capitalist consciousness among people who are objectively oppressed and exploited by capitalism. But the fact of the systematic and organized process of indoctrination of students with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, creates the conditions for the development of a systematic organized alternative to it—alternative that is based on real human needs and potentials. The development of this alternative picture of society is an extremely important contribution of the student movement when it is not seen as an end in itself but is integrated into an overall revolutionary movement.

Students are not in stable class roles and are in relative isolation from the realities of the day to day class struggle. This is a major limitation that provides a basis for all sorts of bad politics ranging from university enclave utopianism to technocratic elitist schemes. But this, too, is a



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sentimental adjustment without losing sight of
social strains, even though they lack the
potential power to make a revolution
and even the "necessity" of violence
to maintain a consistent and organized
program of struggle against capitalism.

Thus, in terms of the student
movement, the problem is the
development of a strategic framework
which can translate its momentum and
revolutionary consciousness into those
activities and forms of organization
where these can contribute the maximum
to the development of a revolutionary
working class movement. And without
such a strategic framework, the class
conscious elements in the student
movement will lack a stable base from
which to combat the tendency for the
politics of this movement to degenerate
into either student power reformism
or anarchism. The necessity and
urgency for the changes proposed,
then, comes both from the overall needs
of the revolution and from the particular
needs of the student movement.

Marxist Categories

Much of the confusion in the debate
over the resolution at Ann Arbor flowed
from the failure to clearly state this
strategic context. What tended to happen
in the debate was that people were able
to invoke Marxist categories as an
alternative to what was essentially a
Marxist analysis. While it is certainly
good that SDS is increasingly adopting
Marxist categories, it would be tragic
if this came to mean that one could
invoke the "main contradiction" or the
"class character of the state" as an
answer to all of the immense practical
and theoretical problems involved in
developing a Marxist strategy
appropriate to this particular historical
situation in this particular capitalist
country. Marxist theory is a means to
a revolutionary strategy, it is not a
substitute for a strategy nor a
pre-packaged strategy in itself.

The central objection to the Klonksy
resolution, which came from the people
who saw the "student-worker alliance"
as an alternative strategy, was an

Class arrests at San Francisco. See page 3 for story.

its basic lack of clarity. A central
point in the argument is that the student
movement has major limitations and
problems that can only be avoided by
the change in direction that the
resolution proposes. This, again, is
essentially true, but the truth is lost
unless the limitations and problems
of the student movement are correctly
defined. In the resolution they are not
correctly defined.

All that is being said is that students
and the student movement are not class
conscious, but that says nothing about
the distinctive problems and
limitations, not to mention the distinctive
potentials, of the student movement that
necessitate the proposed change in
direction. In the first place, everyone
in the society is indoctrinated with
racist and anti-working class notions,
not just students. Second, everyone in
the society accepts, or would accept if
necessitate the proposed change in
direction. In the first place, everyone
in the society is indoctrinated with
racist and anti-working class notions,
not just students. Second, everyone in
the society accepts, or would accept if
they had the opportunity, relative
advantages—"privileges". This is no
peculiar corruption of students. Such
privileges are not "false" except in
the ultimate sense; they are real, not
illusory. In fact, just being a student
is a real privilege, and it would be
absurd to say that the problem of the
student movement is that it refuses to
forego the privilege of student status.

Though they are not indicated in the
resolution, there are distinctive
limitations of a student movement in
this country. They are limitations which
contain real possibilities, if the
strategic framework of the Klonksy
resolution is implemented. While

problem which contains a potential.
Their relative isolation makes it
easier for students to see the overall,
the systematic character of monopoly
capitalism, and the limitations of
spontaneous reform struggle against one
or another of the specific effects of
the system. And to clarify the limitations
of reform struggle is to clarify the
necessity of revolutionary struggle.

Finally, the peculiar history of the
US student movement, the fact that it
developed in the absence of any vital
left movement and in a period where
reformist class collaborationist
leadership was virtually unchallenged
in the working class, and the fact that
it developed most rapidly among those
students and on those campuses which
were furthest from the working class
(this is true of the movement among
white students, particularly), added to
the two major problems dealt with
above.

However, again, within the framework
of the revolution's organizing priority
on those campuses which are closest
to the working class, the background
of the student movement is a
potential asset. The fact that
alienation of the "be-sons of the
ruling-class" is leading them to a
revolutionary Marxist position is both
evidence of the weakness of the entire
edifice of capitalist culture, and a
potential source of strength for a
frontal attack on it.

**LARGEST SELECTION OF LEFT
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The old left and the new left

by Paul Mattick Jr.

(This is the second, and final, part in a series. See NLN, June 15, for Part I.)

The content of class consciousness follows from the real nature of the class. For the proletarian it means the class's awareness of itself as socially organized labor which is at the same time not identical with society but is a class, a group with its own interests in conflict with those of other classes in a society ruled by another class, that of the capitalists. In this way working class - consciousness is inherently historically active: for consciousness of an active state of affairs as something to be changed is not simple "consciousness" but a dialectic of consciousness and revolutionary action. Revolutionary class consciousness at once gives rise to and arises out of revolutionary class activity, which is equally two-sided: in which revolt against the capitalist conditions of work may extend in a natural way to the reorganization of society on the basis of a new mode of production and distribution. Above all, the point is that consciousness and activity are not two things but one: the class struggle is the conscious activity of the class.

Revolutionary Basis

All this is too abstract and "philosophical"; but it is only an attempt to indicate what we find in the concrete history of the socialist movement. Major working-class activity has not been the creation of "organizers" either ex nihilo or by the infusion of a "good political line" into the trade union sort of activity. Rather, an examination of past movements reveals a history of revolutionary activity as working class transcendence of working class limitations in the face of social conditions which transform reformist and integrative movements willy-nilly into revolutionary ones. Reformism is not

The same, however, goes for strategy; the cleverest strategies "for the working class" mean nothing if they do not correspond to needs felt by the workers as produced by their own activity. It should be clear that what is at issue here is not "centralism versus decentralism." Centralism becomes possible as soon as it becomes necessary, i.e., as soon as the bourgeoisie is confronted on a large scale, is confronted as a class. For this means that the various groups of producers in struggle are fighting on a common basis, in which case it is the simplest and most natural matter to extend the organization of the workplace to that of several workplaces, of a region, of the country, of the world.

Workers' Control

The fact is that the workers are already and at all times organized: in the factory, the office, the school, the neighborhood. The core of the socialist revolution is the workers' taking this organization out of the hands of the bosses and into their own. For instance had the general strike in France last May continued, the factories would have had to be started up again, only now under the control of the workers; so that the strike committees elected in the plants would have had to transform themselves into workers' councils (soviets) administering production, organizing armed defense of the premises, communications, etc.

The organization of the working class as a class, capable of taking power, is thus the product of the development of capitalism: "the new society issues from the womb of the old." The party, on the other hand, is (to use Gramsci's word) a voluntary organization, a union of people who share a common program and conception of the fight for socialism. While parties are unable as a matter not only of theory but of fact—to make plans for the working

but only that a socialist (or communist) party, as a group which recognizes that the socialist movement "reckons, in all its phases and through its entire course, on the organization and direct, independent action of the masses" (Rosa Luxemburg), must have for end not its seizure of power, but the workers'. The final goal of such a party is indeed its disappearance through its becoming identical with the working class.

What all this means, of course, is a return to a Marxist perspective from which the essential determinant of the class struggle is not the presence or absence of the party with correct ideas but the conditions of capitalist society themselves. (For instance, we should think of the student left as not so much the product of "organizers" who decided to organize students and perhaps should be organizing workers as well or instead, but as the most advanced aspect of the self-organization of students in response to particular historical pressures—proletarianization of intellectual labor, changes in the character of the university, etc.—in the context of increasing general social crisis.) And the crucial question for the left is of what circumstances can be counted on to produce a working class consciousness in which we can participate. Viewed in this way, the new old left dichotomy loses its importance as a starting point for theory, for the problems facing the "new" left are those which have always faced the left. Our intellectual subservience to the old "left" has kept us from seeing this clearly, as they have kept us from wondering how one could denominate as "left" a CP that proclaimed itself a 20th century Americanism, a "progressive" movement whose hero was the savior of American capitalism, FDR, an "international" collaboration with "democracy" (though also, when convenient, with fascism), a union movement that from the beginning aimed at rank-and-file struggles for... union

accomplished by the working class itself," to see its task as partaking in a movement which alone as the creation of the proletariat can institute a society, socialism, created by the proletariat.

The "new left," likewise, is not so much new as a renewal of the left, at least potentially. This finds expression today in the positive attitudes that have emerged from our vague criticisms of the old: "participatory democracy," "let the people decide," the instinct against "elitism"; it is even, I believe, at the root of our sympathy, however confused, for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and for the particular shape in a leader-directed revolution has taken in Cuba. The most immediate task which faces us on the theoretical plane is now to cut through the blinders inherited from the old "left" and to deal directly with the problems which history places before us as the inheritors of that struggle for socialism which has always been and must always be the most important product of capitalism.

To Make History

Whether or not the student movement of which we are a part will really turn out to represent a renewal of the left depends, finally, on whether the only force that can and must challenge capitalist society—the mass of the working class—itself takes up the struggle. That it will increasingly easier to believe, at the idea that capitalism is capable of overcoming its inherent contradictions is less and less plausible. But the rebirth of the revolutionary labor movement in America is nothing we can passively await. We have the opportunity and thus the duty to ourselves to rediscover for whatever opposition now exists or is coming into being the roots and meaning of radical political class consciousness. This means developing first of all for ourselves that practical consciousness in which the class struggle must consist. It is because we are despite superficial appearances the continuers of the most important of traditions, the active

Cuba: the 10th anniversary

by Carl Oglesby
NIC Member

We met in Mexico City shortly after Christmas: Bruce Goldring from Colorado, Russ Newfeld from New England, and myself, more or less from San Francisco. We arrived in Cuba on December 27 and left, in my case, on the 7th of January, and with Bruce and Russ, the 12th.

What we did: from the 28th through the 1st, took guided tours inside and outside Havana to see docks, a fishing fleet, experimental dairy farms, the Animal Institute, new villages; took in the modern dancers, the folk dancers, and the ballet dancers; spent about 16 hours in three different sessions with Domingo Amichastegui of OSPAAAL; met with the editors of Pensamiento Critico; had long talks with Cubans of low, middle and high estate and also among ourselves and with other Americans there.

On the night of the 1st, at a formal reception, we saw (did not speak to or even very much overhear) Fidel in all his incredible charisma. On the 2nd: Fidel's speech at the Plaza de la Revolution. Then to the Isle of Pines/ Youth, where Cuba's pet project in the making of communism is going forward, mainly in the hands of some of the most turned-on young people you could ever hope to find.

Revolutionary Glimpses

What we saw: something of a revolution in progress. Was it a trunk? A task? A lag? "Only the dead know Spanish," said Thomas Wolfe, and Cuba is at least as dead a piece of territory. What's the story about a short trip is that you leave with no illusions about having seen the whole thing. People who stay longer do not think they do. "What's the story" go to Oriente? But the revolution is not for the dead.

We didn't see the whole of the revolution. For that, not even ten years



photo by Mark Hardesty/ SP Newsreel

revolution is therefore at bottom the social organization of the latent forces of production of the people and the land. Properly organized, people interact with land to produce wealth. Effecting this organization is the prime task of the revolution. This is why there are all these exemplary worker armies busting around all over the island with their tractors and trucks and bulldozers: the Che Guevara Brigade, the July 26 Brigade, the Centennial Column, the wide variety of volunteer labor groups on long- and short-term stints in the countryside.

The revolution's former aim, back in the days when the sky was possibility's only limit, was total and speedy industrialization. It was to be no longer an agrarian economy. Since 1964 a

to the world—not only sugar, but many other foods: coffee, citrus fruits, someday maybe beef—and that the world has something to sell to Cuba: cars, radios, etc.

Things are tight and suspenseful now. The austerity is real and especially conspicuous in Havana. Now you see long lines of people in front of stores where there isn't much to buy. Gasoline, sugar, cigars, cloth, meat—almost everything is rationed. The reason is simple: everything the Cubans don't consume at home they can sell abroad. The 200,000 tons of sugar the rationing will save annually will translate over a three-year period into 3000 ten-ton trucks.

At the same time Cuba's

attack and cancer.

No other country in Latin America has achieved anything like the accomplishments. Cuba's economy will begin to take off if she harvests ten million tons of sugar in 1970, and the revolution has staked its honor on reaching this goal. The best harvest ever, 1952: 7.2 million tons. The best year during the revolution: over 6. Last year, fighting a drought: 5.2. But the 10 are in the ground and the refineries are up to refining it. The only question is whether enough cane can be put. There will be a total shortage for this—between the months of November and March.

If Cuba gets the 10, the revolution is stronger than ever. And this show of strength would almost exactly

We can't see the reasons of the revolution. For that, not even ten years in Cuba would suffice. You would also have to know what it's like in Jamaica with the bureaucrats and in Haiti with the peasants, and it would help to have spent a lifetime among the shivering fishermen and farmers of Brazil's Pernambuco and in the campo of Argentina. And so on. We live on glimpses. There's nothing else.

The grand cause of the revolution is the endless toll and suffering. The purpose of the revolution is to eliminate these. The program of the day picture:

Excerpted from The Guardian, January 11, 1969

by Carl Davidson

In early November the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces (ANLF) issued a joint five-point position on a political solution to the war. It stated:

1. South Vietnam is absolutely determined to struggle for the achievement of its sacred rights of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, progress, and the country's reunification.

2. American imperialism must end the war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and all war material from South Vietnam and liquidate its military bases.

3. South Vietnam's internal affairs must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves, without foreign interference, in accordance with the NLF's political program. General elections must be held to organize the formation of a democratic government of broad national representation.

4. The question of the reunification of Vietnam must be settled gradually by the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country in a peaceful manner, by

an agrarian economy. Since 1964, a more realistic ambition has taken the place of this: the mechanization of agriculture, or more precisely, of sugar. This is the key objective, because it's through this that Cuba can gradually annex the foreign exchange needed to move onwards to a higher level of industrialization. No Cubans seem to think that Cuba will ever become self-sufficient. She will never become, for example, a big steel producer. She lacks the resources for this. What is being sold, rather, is that Cuba has something important to sell

not conclude military alliances with foreign countries and will establish friendly relations with all states in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

PLP Misleading

This position does not code a single principle in the NLF's program, nor in its previous five-point and 10-point positions. However, members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) have claimed otherwise (see "NLF leaders must be criticized," Challenge, December 1968, and "No Negotiations," New York SDS Regional Newsletter). Statements in these articles are slandersous to the NLF and misleading to the U.S. antiwar movement.

For example: "The NLF... has now shifted from an offensive to a defensive position, even pulling back forces from areas in which they had been in control. ... Meanwhile, the U.S. has improved its military situation..." PLP gives no factual substantiation of this argument (there is none) and, in effect, pushes the U.S. military's wishful thinking within the antiwar movement. Other statements are even worse. "The NLF believes that full independence can be achieved through a coalition

At the same time, Cuba's accomplishments are awesome. Infant-acy is wiped out and virtually the whole sixth-grade population is in school. A sixth-grade-level education is available to everyone, and some 300,000 students are on scholarship. A thousand doctors are being graduated a year. The health program has eradicated polio, swine fever, certain common infant and child diseases. Ninety percent of all births now are in hospitals. In fact, the mortality pattern in Cuba now resembles that of the advanced countries: the big killers are heart

hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops centered in coastal enclaves."

This is slander. If PLP is opposed to the fight for neutrality and a coalition government of broad national union during the phase of national democratic revolution, it should have opposed the NLF from the beginning, for these demands have always been in the NLF program. But to claim the NLF program has "guaranteed" a protracted U.S. military presence, or that U.S. puppets will be included in a coalition government is a lie (see points two and three above).

The NLF has stated in point 12 of its program, "Officials of the puppet administration who voluntarily offer to continue to serve the motherland and the people in the state apparatus after the liberation of South Vietnam will be treated as equals." This point was also made by a leader of the People's Revolutionary party (the Communist party within the NLF) in an interview with Wilfred Burdett: "...there could be elements almost at the opposite end of the political spectrum from us... even pro-American nationalists, as long as they break with the puppets and are for genuine national independence...." (Vietnam Will Win!, page 155, emphasis added.)

in solidarity with it to failure and ultimate breakdown of the Alliance for Progress. This is a key point in Vietnam, which asks for vengeance, and Cuba, which while the USSR explicitly affirmed and the US implicitly accepted the politics of spheres of influence, and you have a world situation that puts Cuba once again at the hot spot. What will Nixon do? This is a question which Nixon may not immediately answer. But Cuba is overplaying its role to be with us for a long time.

political forces must support revolution or counterrevolution." This is true in the long run. But neutrality of any government established by the NLF would only be a temporary neutrality with an explicit predetermined direction. This is the point of the NLF's demand for reunification with the North (see the NLF program or point 1 above).

If PLP thinks an alliance of broad national union (excluding puppets) is an incorrect element in a people's war strategy for a national democratic revolution, then they should say so. If they think reunification with the North would give a puppetalist a pro-revolutionary direction to the neutrality of an independent South Vietnam, they should make that clear as well. Their position then would at least be candidly stupid.

Most of the "evidence" PLP gives for its position is set on a supposed interview with NLF and Hanoi representatives in the March 1968 issue of W/Peace Report. Perhaps PLP is not aware that both the NLF and Hanoi have disclaimed the political position of that article as well as the article itself. Any reasonable doubt should be cast on any revolutionary who more readily believes the wishful thinking of a bourgeois journalist

Negotiations, the NLF, and PL

FBI

Date: 2/13/69

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Via AIRTEL _____

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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS),
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS
(UICC) CHAPTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
IS - SDS
STAG

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned above.

The LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ since it contains information from a source whose identification could adversely affect the security of the United States.

The Chicago Police Department, United States Attorney Local Military, and Secret Service, Chicago, were telephonically advised of the information appearing in the LHM.

Copies of the LHM are being furnished to the United States Attorney, Secret Service and local military.

Chicago is closely following developments at UICC and giving this matter preferred attention. The Bureau will be kept advised. **SI-113**

REC 49

100-439048-2560

3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
3 - Chicago

(1 - 100-44710)

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ENCL: [redacted] OSI, OSI, SEC. SER., STATE

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(6)

R.D. (SD, [redacted], CO) IDIU

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

February 13, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

[REDACTED]

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC)
CHAPTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that a meeting of the UICC Chapter of SDS was held on February 11, 1969, at Chicago, Illinois. A major portion of this meeting was devoted to a discussion of a proposed list of demands to be presented by SDS to the UICC administration. The proposed list of demands consisted of the following:

1. No raise in tuition.
2. Establishment of a working class studies department in which degrees will be given. Certain courses in this department including some in Black studies should be required, but there should be no increase in the total number of required courses. The department should emphasize Black studies.
3. Open admissions for all Black and Third World students who apply. A minimum of two-thirds of the entering freshmen should be Black or Third World.
4. No expansion of UICC unless low rent, quality housing is built to replace what is torn down.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

ADVISED

9/22/77

2560

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ENCLOSURE

**Re: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC)
CHAPTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

- 5. Get the "Cop-training" Institute off the campus.**
- 6. Get ROTC off the campus.**
- 7. University should provide a free day-care center for employees, students and faculty.**

The source stated that it was suggested at the meeting that the first three or four points set out above should be given major emphasis by SDS. It was also suggested at the meeting that petitions be circulated listing these three or four demands and a mass committee be set up as the first step in the implementation of these demands.

Source advised that it does not appear that student demonstrations are imminent at UICC at the present time, but the demands being formulated by SDS may be the basis for some future demonstrations.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

Re: **STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)**
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC)
CHAPTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: February 5, 1969

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The New York Office had advised that the SDS chapter of Columbia University and Princeton University held an East Coast Conference on 2/1-2/69 at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. There were about 300 persons at the conference which included members of the anarchistic SDS, the Chinese-communist oriented Progressive Labor Party and three observers from the militant racist Black Panther Party. At this meeting a five page proposal entitled "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools" was distributed to persons in attendance at the conference. Copies were obtained and one is enclosed.

This proposal cites past agitation at Columbia University and at the Chicago Democratic Convention. It sets forth the following demands: No ROTC; no war or counter-insurgency research; no military or war recruiting; no draft assemblies in high schools and no high school sending of names to draft boards. The proposal sets out steps for action to effect the demands on a month-to-month basis.

For the New York area the following timetable is set forth: February, begin organizing; March, intensify organizing and action; April 12-13, march in Washington - immediate withdrawal from Vietnam - support of black liberation; April 14-20, actions around the military - marches on recruiting stations, draft centers and Board of Education; May 1, general student strike and the posting of the nonnegotiable demands.

Prior to the Columbia University riot last year, Mark Rudd, former head of the SDS at Columbia, prepared a blueprint for action which culminated with that riot. This latest plan is an obvious effort to stimulate a similar outbreak.

This information is being furnished the Attorney General, White House, military intelligence agencies and other pertinent agencies. Local authorities have been advised.

RECOMMENDATION: Crime Records Division should handle with appropriate contacts to afford this publicity and expose this subversive blueprint for action by SDS.

Enclosure
RJS:lvh

4 MAR 1969

* LETTERS BEING PREPARED

REC 44 100-439048-2561

107/100

SMASH THE MILITARY MACHINE IN
THE SCHOOLS
(A National Winter-Spring Offensive)

Until last year the anti-war movement was a significant social force in this country. It was a political movement capable of making real alliances and giving to people, through struggle, a consciousness of the imperial nature of the Vietnam War. The fact that the black movement was in the forefront of both draft resistance and G.I. rebellions enabled us to recognize the black struggle in this country as one analogous to the fight of the Vietnamese people. Through a number of factors, however, both the mass character and social potency of the movement has declined in the last year. Were this only the reflection of a transition between a "peace now" politics and an anti-imperialist one, we would not be able to fault it. SDS remained isolated on many campuses for several years because of the content of its political program: but in the end that program made sense to people and allowed them to engage in coherent and meaningful struggles.

Unfortunately this transition is not in evidence--the movement in a real way has forgotten the war. We feel that this attitude does not address itself to the two primary concerns of people in this country: the continuation of the war and the black movement. To a large extent the real split between the mass anti-war movement, with its left-liberal politics, and the smaller campus movements which from 1965-68 developed a true anti-imperialist critique of, and attack upon, the war, was necessary. At the present though the continuation of this split is totally self-defeating; this does not mean any alliances with such groups as the Mobilization--even tactical alliances: what it means is the re-consolidation of the mass anti-war movement under the anti-imperialist, anti-racist banner of support for the Vietnamese people, led by the National Liberation Front, and of all oppressed people in their struggle against imperialism.

Notwithstanding the subtle political moves of Johnson, McCarthy, the peace talks and the "ceasing hostilities" there has been no substantive change in the importance of the war, both nationally and internationally. The war remains, with the black struggle, the primary embodiment of American capitalism. The war is the reason for which both black, working class and young American students are drafted; it is the reason for which they are killed; it is the reason for the 10% surcharge; the same reason for the inability of the American ruling class to deal with internal disorders. Internationally, the Vietnamese struggle is the primary fight against world-wide imperialism. This is something the American movement has forgotten. On the spur of the actions that took place in the spring of 1968--both here and throughout the neo-capitalist world, the idea of an anti-capitalist movement became paramount in the minds of many people. That is, people began to believe in the possibility of creating their own revolts rather than simply supporting others which was important. In the process, though, the real lines of struggle have tended to be blurred: if the Vietnamese people lost their struggle it will insure the ascendancy of capitalism throughout the world. To

ENCLOSURE

say SDS is anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist and yet fail to try and build a mass movement against the prime manifestation of American imperialism, a movement which supports the NLF and fights to end that war, is the height of meaningless rhetoric.

It would be disastrous to talk about the war as we did in 1966--it is essential to talk to people about the war in a way that links it to struggles that are going on in this country for liberation, especially the black struggle. That struggle cannot be defined by any other terms than the real social conditions that afflict the lives of black people in this country. Those conditions are these: as a people blacks have a life expectancy seven years shorter than whites; as a people, twenty-five percent of their youth is unemployed; as a people they live in the worst houses, go to the worst schools, get the worst jobs. In Watts, the black community made up 18% of the total population of the city of Los Angeles; as a people they had 28% of all cases of dysentery, 44% of all cases of food poisoning and 100% of all cases of polio in the entire city. These are the real conditions in which the black people live: the term can be defined as genocide. There is a real difference, though, between the extermination of a people as is now being practiced in Vietnam, and the oppression of a people so massive that their daily struggle must be for survival, with the constant threat of genocide if mass armed struggle does break out. In the face of such massive oppression, we can only find debates as to whether the black community is a group of super-exploited workers or not, an academic luxury. The black struggle defines itself in their attempt to gain political, economic, social, and cultural control over their communities. The most advanced elements within the black struggle have often said that they cannot see such control except in terms of a socialist revolution. In effect, what can be said, non-rhetorically and concretely, is that the struggle of the blacks in the U.S. is a people's struggle: that, in effect, a war of liberation is being fought within the U.S. at this time.

What such an analysis means is that after the agitation around the war, after Columbia, after Chicago, it is necessary to begin the creation of a self-conscious, mass, anti-imperialist movement throughout this country. Such a movement cannot be constructed without a real program to mobilize and struggle around: the left must establish itself in this country as not simply a disruptive agency, but as a social force that has a real power--that can prove through the strength of its arguments, the masses of people which are attracted to them and the militancy of the action they engage in, the "this-sidedness of its thinking in practice." We believe that the best way of doing this is to re-inject the issue of the war with a mass demand for conclusion to the issues that have been fought over by students for the last few years:

SMASH THE MILITARY IN THE SCHOOLS

No ROTC

No war or counter-insurgency research

No military or war recruiting

No draft assemblies in high schools

No high school sending of names for draft

Such an attack could be defined by two considerations:

1) the struggle should not be seen primarily as a university struggle; it is necessary to make students fight the universities ~~as~~ students but as radicals attacking American imperialism. This means that, of necessity, it is more than a fight at the universities. The war is racist as well as imperial; the fodder of the war is black and working class youth (30% of the soldiers in Vietnam and over 50% of all casualties in the war are black). Therefore, our program must encompass off-campus as well as on-campus actions, especially around high schools. We must articulate and demonstrate the class nature of these military institutions, as well as their racist nature--that ROTC supplies the officers and high schools supply the G.I.'s for imperialist wars. In talking to G.I.'s and our spring actions we must talk about ROTC as the main producer of the officer class (85% of all second lieutenants, and 45% of all officers on active duty) which most immediately oppresses the enlisted man.

2) The demands presented are made in the interest of winning them. In the case of ROTC, a nationwide attack would severely hurt the military. ROTC exists in 348 campuses and in many mid-west high schools; in some places it is compulsory. As a result of VC sharpshooting, the military is experiencing a severe shortage of officers. In the case of war company recruiting, a national attack might well begin a long-range attempt to deny the military industrial complex a significant portion of its technicians. In the case of the high school demands, a coordinated university-high school attack will be in the articulation of the growing rebellions of black and white high school students in the direction of a permanent radical movement. The strength of such a program obviously has to do with its national scope. Our demands, the comprehensive nature of our tactics, and the clarity of our arguments should show people that SDS indeed identifies with and fights for the liberation of oppressed people, that, in terms of the nation, is not simply interested in being a gadfly, that in terms of individuals, it is not simply concerned with students and others as IFP cards to be put through the radicalization computer. Both the demands and the struggle must be non-negotiable. Any anti-capitalist struggle today, must, of necessity, be an anti-imperialist one. This means that the struggles against imperialism being waged in the third world will define our struggle at home. Their battle is one of victory or death; and therefore, the inflexibility of our position does not come out of romanticism but rather the hard and intractable facts of life that necessitate social revolution for the great majority of people in the world. In waging our revolutionary struggle, it is important to remember not that Che died at the age of 39, but that the life expectancy of the average Latin American male, the man who does not engage in armed struggle but is a miner in Bolivia or Chile, a farmer in Peru, a plantation slave in Brazil, or a dockworker in Buenos Aires, is also 39. It is important to remember not that half the guerrillas in the Granma were killed when they landed, but that one out of every three children born in Latin America dies before the age of three.

We must no longer ~~wait for the revolution to come~~ we must mobilize the people to combat it.

STRATEGY.

- 1) that chapters adopt as a base for their winter-spring offensives, the five demands outlined above, always making those demands explicitly anti-racist as well as anti-imperialist. That organizing at the chapter and regional level, as well as actions, be directed to these demands.
- 2) that there be a mass mobilization in Washington in early April to denote the mid-point of the struggle. This mobilization will be the clearest presentation, since 1965, of SDS's political position: SUPPORT FOR BLACK LIBERATION, IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL, SMASH IMPERIALISM. (April 12-13). National statement of the 5 demands.
- 3) that chapters and regions return immediately after the Washington action to initiate militant actions around those demands, joining with high school and black groups wherever possible.

Step one will perhaps be the first attempt to coordinate organizing and local actions on a long term basis around a national program and as part of a larger strategy. The necessity for regions to break down the demands to correspond to their real manifestations of imperialism in the local institutions is an absolute necessity. The movement within the U.S. has always partaken of a quality of uneven development--while this has allowed for isolated actions, such as Columbia or S.F. State to shock the entire movement into a qualitative leap in both ideological and political militancy, it has also made the workings of a national program extremely difficult. Step two, therefore, becomes the "common denominator" of the strategy, an action that gives national focus to the local organizing, that expresses the political and tactical level of the movement as a whole. Step three, though, is the most important part of the program. It is here that the clarity of our national demands and nationally oriented politics will be matched by our local and regional actions. In the more developed regions, the militant and widespread nature of the revolts against imperialism and racism will clearly aid the whole strategy. In less developed regions and chapters, the national march and any low level demonstrations that occur afterwards will perhaps contribute to the building of the movement at those chapters if not to the immediate winning of the five demands, as may be possible in other areas.

How these regional struggles will proceed must be worked out at the regional level. At Boston, perhaps, a region-wide attack on M.I.T. as a war-making institution that should be attacked nationally, is possible. We present the outline of a possible New York Regional strategy as a model from which other regions and chapters might draw ideas:

NEW YORK MODEL:

- February: Developing a petition drive, city-wide for an end to military in the schools, preparing the organizational apparatus necessary for the struggle.
- March: Intensive organizing, teach-ins, films, publicity on the march, the war, racism. Low-level campus actions and inter-university actions.

April 12-13 : March in Washington--IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM

SUPPORT OF BLACK LIBERATION

April 14-20 : Actions around the military; e.g., march on the Board of Education demanding end of the "general diploma" as a ticket to the army for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, convergence on a military recruiting station, attack on draft center, etc.. Presentation of a petition with a call for a general strike of students in the city if demands are not met

May 1 : May 1; organizing, with street theater, films, political brigades, for the strike

General student strike, which continues to build from the first day, not just because we have called it, but because of the nature and militancy of the four month struggle that has preceded it; positing non-negotiability of the demands and the struggle.

IMPLEMENTATION

The creation of such a mass movement necessitates an amount of work that SDS has never yet engaged in: while we should be open to working with people in other organizations, SDS primarily the local and regional chapters, should undertake to keep the organizational implementation of the program completely under its control, e.g. literature, fund-raising, advertising, travel, tactics etc.. To meaningfully implement the program the chapters and regionals must work collectively--a much more extended organizational version of the way things worked during the electoral program. In terms of building for a national conscious commitment of the movement and preparatory organization, we propose:

- 1) Printing of this program in New Left Notes
- 2) Continued allocation of space by NLN for other papers--other regional models, longer analyses of imperialism and racism in relation to the program, organizers articles, region-by-region reports of progress.
- 3) Initial contacts from chapter to chapter and region to regions, with high school groups and Black groups, throughout the month of January.
- 4) February 1 and 2 meeting of all chapters and regions that have approved program or will do so, to cement the outlines of the national program, to set up the organizational and educational apparatus, and to mandate the NIC to call for a national march and regional actions. Princeton SDS will host the meeting.
- 5) Continuous contact between chapters and regions, exchange of organizing materials and regional strategies, perhaps setting up of a Washington office for coordinating the march, or elections of regional steering committees to implement regional strategies.

6) April 12-13--National March:

Chip Marshall

Lewis Cole, Columbia SDS

Mike Kazin, Harvard

Joan Weissman

Dick Fried, New Jersey Regional

Eric Mann, N. England Reg.

JDRU

Juan Gonzalez, Columbia

Rob Kirkman, NYU

Tom Hurwitz, Columbia

Joe Kelly, Niagara Region

Dan Swinney

Roger Lipman, U. of Washington

Tom Tarlau, Princeton

NORU

FBI

Date: 2/19/69

WCS/ku

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS SDS

Re Chicago airtel dated 2/11/69 concerning possible SDS activity with regard HUEY NEWTON's birthday celebrations to be held 2/16-17/69 under SDS-Black Panther Party (BPP) sponsorship.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that although a rally was held on that date in support of HUEY NEWTON, it did not attract much attention nor were there any incidents related to the rally. He stated that the sponsorship of the rally was unknown to him.

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
1 - 105-165706 (BPP)
2 - Chicago
1 - 157-1291 (BPP)
RRG:mfs
(6)

REC-51

100-439048-2563

FEB 21 1969

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

64 FEB 27 1969

105-165706-9

100-439048-2564

CHANGED TO

100-439048-3-185x

APR 16 1969

mt / KD

b7C

Feb 18, 1969

L. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The enclosed article was in the evening paper and I thought you would like to know about it.

Something should be done to smash this organization immediately before our Country is destroyed. The articles put out by Communists and our innocent citizens are being influenced by these deviants.

Sincerely

[Redacted Signature]

b7C

S.D.L. - [Redacted]

EX-104

17C
2-19-69
shw

a.k. [Redacted]
2/24/69
FHC/pla

REC-23 100-439048-2502

FEB 26 1969

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

TRUE COPY

Feb 18, 1969

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Buer of Investigation
Washington D. C

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The enclosed article was in the evening paper and
I thought you would like to know about it.

Something should be done to smash this organization
immediately before our Country is destroyed. The articles reek
with Communism. and our innocent citizens are being inflamed by
these disorders.

Sincerely

out/leg
2/19/69
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1 TC
2-19-69
ekw

8/21/

The view from the left

The Students for a Democratic Society recently adopted the following resolution at a meeting in Princeton, N.J. The declaration ~~condemns~~ of Marxist fundamentalism, Maoism and anti-draft pacifism—is reproduced in part here to help readers bring the activist group and its program into perspective when the SDS undertakes a national campaign in the spring.

WE UNDERSTAND that there is a material basis—the uneven distribution of wealth and privilege among the working class of the world—for the allegiance given to American imperialism by the American working class. This material basis is reflected in the anti-communism, racism and alienation from the International proletariat. The necessary crisis in imperialism, which we see approaching, and anti-imperialist struggles such as that of the Vietnamese, the Chinese, the Cubans, will change the material basis of that allegiance. Our task is to strip away its ideological reflections through struggle.

A programmatic way to fulfill this function is to build an organized attack on the ever-increasing state of permanent militarization in this country.

The attempt for world domination by the capitalists has caused anti-imperialist and in some cases explicitly Communist struggles, as well as a black liberation struggle, in this country. It has also caused, from time to time, struggles on the part of working people of all colors. In order to preserve itself the capitalist class has had to militarize. Because these struggles for liberation will continue to grow, militarization will continue to increase.

★ ★ ★

The domestic effects of this militarization can be shown not to be in the interests of the people. They affect the people in this society in a class way, that is by hitting harder on white and especially black working class people. By raising the issues in a class conscious way, we can build an attack that will win people to an anti-imperialist movement.

Militarization oppresses in two ways. First it attacks. Its tools are the military, the economic machinery necessary for the military and the police inside the country. Second it utilizes manpower for its ends and in so doing oppresses...

We can attack the brutal use of police against the people's struggle. The basis for our attack against domestic militarization which comes down heaviest on black people and very specifically on youth (especially young working class youth) is the class nature of the police, police institutes, police in the schools, the courts as well as the socialization which lays the ideological basis for this oppression. Public propaganda which justifies "law and order," laws which allow people to be arrested and held with no trials like Nixon's "preventive arrest" law and the many "investigations" of the movement must all be attacked. Counter-insurgency research and ROTC which serves to oppress our brothers and sisters in Vietnam, the draft, military recruiting and university complicity with imperialism all should serve as targets for our movement this spring...

★ ★ ★

Our movement must attack racism in unity with the black struggle, which because of its anti-colonial aspect, made an identification with other anti-imperialist struggles. Struggles of national liberation through-out the world. Secondly, we must attack white supremacy which has developed out of a real material basis and now prevents working class unity. To support the black struggle which has been led by groups like the Black Panther Party, is the sharpest and most immediate instance of the class struggle before us.

The danger is our program against racism, whether it

10-439048-2565

Harrisburg area had the Municipal Band, the Good Will Fire Company Band, the V. E. Band, the Knights Templar Band, the Tall Cedars Band, the Steelton Band and even the Methodist Sunday School Band. The famous Commonwealth Band lasted from 1888 to 1943. Today it has the Moose Band (successor to the Commonwealth Band), American Legion Post 27 Band, the New Cumberland Band, the Zembo Band and the Oriental Band, as well as a number of fine high school bands and the exciting Westshoremen Bonnie Scots Drum and Bugle Corps.

★ ★ ★

The Symphonic Band is something different. Under the direction of Dr. James Thurmond, assistant conductor of the Harrisburg Symphony, it will play classics written especially for the brass and woodwinds.

Tomorrow night's 1 1/2-hour program will have works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Felix Mendelssohn, Samuel Barber, Joseph Haydn and the brilliant "Symphony No. 3 for Band" by Vittorio Giannini. Leonard Smith, possibly the world's finest solo cornetist and conductor of the Detroit Symphony Band, will be aboard for two numbers, including the one by Haydn.

Dr. Thurmond has assembled a group of 78 musicians, a who's who of Midstate talent. Many of the first-chairmen of the Harrisburg, York and Lancaster symphonies are with him, and they've put in five long rehearsals just for this concert. Some of the local talent includes Al Morrison, Bob Wertz, Cbet Richwine, John Isele, Earl Caton, Bob Cox, Jack Colangelo (whose father, Salvatore, for many years was with the Harrisburg Symphony and also directed the old Commonwealth Band), Marilyn Houck, Ray Miller, Doug Blackstone and others.

The Symphonic Band will have 24 B-flat clarinets, three alto clarinets, four bass clarinets and one contra-bass clarinet to replace the usual string section of an orchestra. Dr. Thurmond also is using five saxophones, four each of flutes, trombones and tubas, six French horns, two each of baritones, oboes and bassoons, eight coronets and five drums, plus two string basses.

With public acceptance, the Harrisburg Symphony Assn. will make this fine band a regular part of its season's series.

★ ★ ★

Her is the remainder of the February arts calendar:

Feb. 18 — Harrisburg Symphonic Band, premiere performance, with Leonard Smith solo cornetist, Forum, 8:15 p.m.

— "Humor, American Style," lecture by John Henry Faulk, York College.

Feb. 20 — "Benjamin Franklin, Citizen," presentation by Fred Wayne, F & M Topics program, 8:15 p.m.

— Andres Segovia, classic guitar, Bucknell University.

— Book review by John Lucas, Harrisburg Library, noon.

Feb. 21 — Bogart night, "Casablanca" and "The Big Sleep," Harrisburg Community College, 7 p.m.

— "The Revenger's Tragedy," by the Mermald Players of Dickinson College, also Feb. 22 and 23 and March 1, 8 p.m.

— Ivan Moravec, Czech pianist, Dickinson cultural series, Junior High auditorium, 8:30 p.m.

Feb. 22 — Central Pennsylvania Scholastic Art Exhibit, William Penn Museum, through March 9.

— Susquehanna District Boy Scout Show, Farm Show Building, 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

— "Life in India," illustrated lecture by Dr. John F. Johnson, World Travel Series, sponsored by Hummelstown Rotary Club, Lower Dauphin High School, 8 p.m.

— Jose Limon Dance Company, Wilson College.

Feb. 23 — Bob Art Band Orchestra, Sunday at the

February 25, 1969

REC-23

100 - 439048 - 2565

M. J. But

[Handwritten signature]

[Redacted block] *Implications*
b7C

Dear *[Redacted]* *b7C*

I have received your letter of February 18th
and the newspaper clipping. Your kindness in furnishing
this to me is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
FEB 25 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning
correspondent on basis of available data.

EB 57 2 53 bh .Lo

- ☐ Mr. Tolson
- ☐ Mr. DeLoach
- ☐ Mr. Mohr
- ☐ Mr. Bishop
- ☐ Mr. Casper
- ☐ Mr. Callahan
- ☐ Mr. Conrad
- ☐ Mr. Felt
- ☐ Mr. Gale
- ☐ Mr. Rosen
- ☐ Mr. Sullivan
- ☐ Mr. Tavel
- ☐ Mr. Trotter
- ☐ Tele. Room
- ☐ Mr. Holmes
- ☐ Miss Gandy

FMG:dla (3)
adm
edm

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

59 APR 1 1969
64 MAR 9 1969 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

February () 1969

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to advise you that I have come across an underground paper which is being sold on the grounds of our local JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, called "Stick." (P-W Junior High)

Copy
It seems to be promoted by the Students for a Democratic Society and it is unbelievable to me that children of a junior-high age level could muster up a paper of this type, which can only prove, to me at least, that this is something cleverly sponsored by adults with a thorough plan afoot to undermine the minds of the young regarding their Country, their Government, their President and, working their way down, the School Principal and the teachers (any of the teachers who are not radical in their thinking, that is).

I think as an American Citizen I have as many rights to protect my child from SDS and radical teachers as these radicals think they have to tear down my childrens' love for their Country.

Are you doing anything about this SDS?

Yours truly,

[Redacted signature block]

67C

REC-20

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ST-105

2 FEB 20 1969

*ackd
01/25/69
FMC/lat*

CORRESPONDENCE

REC-20

ST-105

100-439848-2566

February 25, 1969

[REDACTED] b7C

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

I have received your letter of February 19th.

With regard to your question concerning the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the FBI has conducted a considerable amount of investigation regarding the subversive movement which threatens our country today. Being a strictly investigative agency of the Department of Justice, we furnished the results of our inquiries to the Attorney General for his opinions with respect to prosecution in these matters.

I am enclosing some material relative to the SDS which I trust will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
FEB 25 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (3)
An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
Reds on Campus
Director's testimony 2-23-68 re communist, racial and hate groups

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent or the newspaper "Stick."

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EMG:mak (3)

APR 1 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAR 4 1969

Date: February 14, 1969

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : 100-439048)

Attention :

(100-1500)

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title <u>STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)</u>	Character b1
OO: CHICAGO	Reference Milwaukee letter - 12/31/68.

Remarks:

Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Chicago (100-40903); Milwaukee
 (100-14340)

Status with this office:

☒ RUC☒ Pending

4-Bureau (Encs.-3)

1-Chicago

1-Ottawa

MLI:j1

59-MAR-4-1969

56-APR-11-1969

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Do not write in space below

100	439048-2569	REC-10
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	TOP/SEC	

EXP. PROC.

CLASSIFIED BY 100-439048-2569
 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 1
 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
 per marked C-100-439048-2569

100-439048-2570

CHANGED TO

100-439048-41-23X

41
Q2
APR 17 1969

mit LKD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 2/24/69

FROM : *MJD* SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: *aj* STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)
IS - SDS

Re New York airtel dated 1/22/69 requesting information relating to a proposed "Summit Meeting and The High School Students."

b1
[REDACTED] is not aware of any distribution locally of the SDS memo entitled "Strategy for the High School Movement: Attack Militarism," which was forwarded by New York airtel dated February 14, 1969.

O-1BS 2-18-69

Report w/let 3-10-69

226

REC-30

ST-103

100-439048 2571
FEB 26 1969

INT. SEC.

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② - Bureau (RM) 3 8 51 PM 1969
2 - New York (100-148047) (RM)
1 - Chicago
1263 pmd 505
(5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

VIA TELETYPE
FEB 24 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 03 250PM AFB
URGENT 2-24-69 AFB
TO DIRECTOR (CODE)
FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (P)

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU) STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS) - POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE NEXT
IS-SDS, STAG, OO CHICAGO.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY SCHEDULE OF EVENTS FOR SDS
DEMONSTRATION AGAINST DOW CHEMICAL CO. RECRUITERS FEBRUARY
TWENTYFIVE NEXT, NU, EVANSTON, ILL., AS FOLLOWS;

NINE AM RALLY AT STUDENT PLACEMENT CENTER (SPC), SITE OF
DOW RECRUITING, FOLLOWED BY MEETINGS OF "INTEREST GROUPS."
TWELVE NOON RALLY AT SPC, NO FURTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE.

SOURCE ADVISED VERY LITTLE STUDENT INTEREST,
USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY AND EVANSTON PD ADVISED.

END

PAO FBI WASH DC

53 APR 11 1969

5 MAR 11 1969

XEROX
MAR 4 1969

EX-112

5-10

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62

F B I

Date: 2/28/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)


AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - GENL
IS-SDS

 Additional details as they become available will be forwarded immediately.

- 10
③ - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Antonio (100-9838)(RM)
1 - Oklahoma City (Info) (100-7172) (RM)
1 - Dallas (Info)(RM)
1 - Chicago

RRG:meb
(8)

REC 44

100-439048-2573

1 MAR 3 1969

INREC

53 APR 11 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

Agent in Charge

VIA TELETYPE
ENCIPHERED

Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

WA 03 1141AM EOM
URGENT 2-26-69 EOM
TO DIRECTOR CODE
FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (P) 2P

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU) STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY (SDS), DEMONSTRATION FEB. TWENTYFIVE LAST. IS-SDS. STAG.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THIS AM APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED
FIFTY NU STUDENTS HELD ALL NIGHT MEETING SCOTT HALL, NU CAMPUS,
EVANSTON, ILL., WITH PERMISSION OF ROLAND J. HINZ, VICE PRESIDENT
AND DEAN OF STUDENTS NU. PERMISSION OBTAINED LATE FEB. TWENTYFIVE
LAST AFTER HINZ MET WITH INDIVIDUALS WHO EARLIER DEMONSTRATED
AGAINST DOW CHEMICAL CO. RECRUITERS AT NU STUDENT PLACEMENT
CENTER, EVANSTON, AT WHICH EVANSTON PD MADE SIX ARRESTS FOR
DISORDERLY CONDUCT.

SOURCE ADVISED THAT DURING MEETING WITH HINZ STUDENTS
DEMANDED: ONE) REMOVAL OF JOB PLACEMENT CENTER (SCENE OF
DEMONSTRATION). TWO) SALE OF NU'S EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS
WORTH OF DOW CHEMICAL CO. STOCK. THREE) AMNESTY OR UNIVERSITY
PROVIDED LEGAL AID FOR SIX STUDENTS ARRESTED AT DEMONSTRATION.

END
House, AG, Secret
CIA, STATE, ACSI,
by tel 2-22-69

CC's to DAG; AAG; CIVIL
IDIU, Vice President 2-22-69

PAGE TWO CG 100-44715

SOURCE STATED AS OF EIGHT AM TODAY STUDENTS HAD LEFT SCOTT HALL AND NO DAMAGE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN INFLICTED ON UNIVERSITY PROPERTY. SOURCE ADVISED NO PLANS FOR FURTHER DEMONSTRATION KNOWN.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY, EVANSTON PD ADVISED.
ADMINISTRATIVE. REMYTEL FEB. TWENTYFIVE LAST.

 b7d
CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. LHM FOLLOWS.

END

HOLD FOR ONE MORE

cc Mr. Shultz



SAMUEL L. DEVINE
12th District, Ohio

LEGISLATIVE OFFICE
POST OFFICE BUILDING
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE
AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

LEGISLATIVE
TRANSPORTATION AND
AERONAUTICS

COMMITTEE ON HOUSE
ADMINISTRATION
LEGISLATIVE
ELECTIONS

February 25, 1969

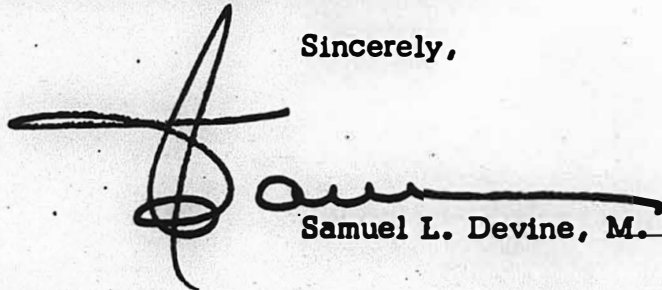
Cartha D. DeLoach
Assistant Director
Crime Records Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Deke:

The enclosure came into my hands as it relates
to the S.D.S.

I am wondering if this information is reasonably
accurate and if you are in a position to provide me with
further source material on this Organization.

Sincerely,


Samuel L. Devine, M. C.

SLD/j

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

MAR 19 1969

100-439048 2576

111-28-67
ST. 111

111-28-67
ST. 111

SUBJECT: SUMMARY (ACTIVITIES AND DIRECTION OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

the current and future "theme" of "S.D.S." is, "we've got to reach our own people." Our own people, in this sense, was defined as: working class, poor, students, union Blacks, young and old. The various segments of people referred to here is broken down further to explain the most exploitable areas of each segment.

The most pressing but yet the most fertile issue to organize and rally around, is the Vietnam war. For the purpose of resistance to the "American System," which is the ultimate goal of the New Left, the war issue is in effect described as a "catch-all" because, unlike labor unions or campus problems where the only persons concerned are those directly involved, a significant percentage of people are concerned from all society regarding the war and its ramifications. It is hoped that the drawing together of people regarding the war dissent, will eventually and more dramatically develop the effort to impede and disrupt the functioning of the Military and Political Machinery wherever it is local and vulnerable because it is felt that power throughout the existing society is illegitimate and unresponsive to public opinion. It is also believed that the proper resistance can draw together those people who are sufficiently detached from the integrative social mechanisms of this country so that they could never participate in propaganda/symbolic-confrontation-oriented movement.

It is explained that the following broad outline can be used in developing wedges and rallying points among the working class and the poor with respect to the war dissent

1. It is here that the war hits hardest.
 - A. Young men from these communities do most of the dying in Vietnam.
 - B. Their fathers and brothers did most of the dying in Korea.
 - C. It is their unions that are surpressed in the name of the war effort; their wage gains will be erased by war inflation; their checks will feel hardest the squeeze of a war tax.
 - D. The war will result in token of relief, job training, school improvement, and rent supplements will be cut off.

the theory applied here is the common interest quotient, in that common line of interest helps to unite and solidify the various factions that fall into this social segment. i. e. it can bring the welfare mother, worker, parent, and young person into one cause and into a vacuum of common interest; which in effect bridges the gaps.

S.D.S. further qualifies their desire to use the war issue as a solidifying device by outlining that they are focusing on the draft because it is the most important and most tangible manifestation of the war in most peoples lives; hardly anyone exists in lower class working community who does not have friends or close relatives who are in the Army or threatened by it, and by coming into the community with a program that will keep themselves or their friends, or their children, or their loved ones, out of war.

S.D.S. admits that the most over-riding reason for becoming so actively engaged in the area of war and draft dissent is, "simply for the preservation of the movement," because the movement is in danger of collapse. Actually, this admission represents once again, that the organizations participation in this particular area is only a device by which they hope to increase in size, and depth the roots of social movement, further the gravity of the people to significantly resist the American System even after the war is over. In effect, the philosophy of the movement is to: "the trying and of the movement is to sink roots to seek real confrontations with Power--and to endure--to survive--to live."

100-439048 2576
ENCLOSURE

The broadly outlined organizing mechanics with respect to various communities and groups are outlined by the S.D.S. as follows:

1. Community Based Draft Resistance.

- A. Disaffected areas -- Draft resistance grows faster and stronger in sectors of the population that are disaffected with the war and the Political machinery.
- B. Ethnic communities - Think of black and ethnic communities, like Puerto Rican, Polish, American Indian, German, etc. Also think of lower class white working communities; less than half of these communities vote because they do not believe that Political leaders will do anything for them and they are the ones primarily who are getting drafted -- these are the people who can form a base of power to resist the war and political machinery. Draft resistance is the way to reach them because the draft is touching almost every one of their families.
- C. Students - Students are most often the troops of the movement. Since students are very often the ones with the time and background development that allows them to develop opposition to and organization against the establishment, they must be the ones to bring agitation and organization to Americans who do not have that time or background.
- D. Draft Union Program - e.g. a "flying" group that, during the course of its work, tries various ways of reaching out into potentially insurgent communities -- Pick the neighborhood for some good reason; seek out people there who know their way around; look for areas where there is a "rooted" neighborhood peace group; where there are Welfare Rights organizations; a fight with the political machine; rent strikes; unions; renewal issues as an issue of control of schools, the hospitals or the police. Check on the listings of men who are classified as 1-A in the city. The draft board will not give out their addresses but if you send them a letter through the draft board, they are required by law to forward mail to men in this classification.
- E. Leaflet - Leaflet the surrounding blocks, the churches, schools, community centers, bars, and barbershops, asking permission to set up a draft information center, you should inform the people whom you contact that Draft Information Centers are spring up over the country and that your desire is to get people to stand up in their own defense against this unjust war which is not in the American peoples' interest. You should make a strong statement against the war to let people know where you stand. Circulate a petition getting signatures that support your right to be in the neighborhood: the right of the people to learn about alternatives to the draft and the right of people to resist the draft. Get to know ministers, priests, grade school and high school teachers. Try to get invitations to speak in schools about the draft and/or the war. Help set up "underground" high school newspapers. It is important to work with students you know, and not from the outside or from the top.
- F. Resistance Centers - Try to establish the Draft Resistance Center in a place where high school people hang around in the afternoon and evenings. To help attract students, place speaker outside and play some good music. Let high school students use the office for things they want to do: it is their union as much as it is yours. Have literature on other things besides the draft which you think will develop a political consciousness and which will interest people. Get into

community life; talk to people in clubs, bars, bowling alleys, etc.; take care of babies for mothers; try to get people to come in the Center and have coffee. You may want protection, i.e. police, state, etc., and the neighborhood people are the only protection you have. Fight along side of the people in other issues of community control. This develops confidence and they will then listen to what you have to say. Try to get these same people to talk about the draft and leaflet with you.

G. Newsletters - Put out a newsletter that not only talks about your fight but theirs (the community) as well. Pass it out door-to-door, shopping centers, schools, etc. It is important to participate in peace groups and to help set them up: They will want to know the facts and may give you money, materials or access to reproduction facilities. Use all of the "tight" non-establishment groups that exist if possible. Besides induction center demonstrations put out your own leaflet explaining your own reason for support in other demonstrations, such as, welfare, housing, against a Mayor, for Policy Control Board, in support of black political prisoners. Anything to convince the people that you are on their side.

H. Support Groups - It is important to set up support groups among lawyers, doctors, labor union staff people, and other professionals. They can help with property bond, legal services, publicity contacts and money. Organize young women in a group to keep young men from submitting to the draft and support those who refuse. Young women can break through a lot of the - "Be a man" propaganda which lures young men into the service.

I. Fund Raising - Fund raising letters should include newsletters, sample leaflets, etc. If the draft union is going to have a real base in the community, it must be supported mostly by the community. Some members of the Union should get jobs and bring home paychecks. Working will also give you both roots and credibility in the community.

J. Group Structure - Since the draft resistance group is an attempt to reach into the Community, it must be run so that new community people can have an equal share in decision making. Since you have a political point of view, it is important sometimes to throw some people out of the group. Do not vote on issues, discuss them until you have convinced enough people for the necessary support.

K. Community Unions - If Draft Resistance Unions establish themselves genuinely in the community and find the people there who will confront the government's use of poor or working people in the war, it may be possible to form a community union which will try to take local power.

L. Talk - We can begin to break through the anti-communism if we in : talk in our literature about the good way people live in Cuba and North Vietnam, in Eastern European Countries and in all over the new revolutionary third world countries.

America, how it works and messes people up in this country and all over the world. outrages us sometimes to a point where rats and roaches seem silly. Housing problem, welfare, food prices, and cops are the kind of thing most people in poor and working class neighborhoods know and must deal with every day of their lives.

Currently S.D.S. is experiencing difficulty in being accepted into the "mainstream" as an equally revolutionary and predominately white movement that is dedicated to

the "Black Movement" principals. S.D.S. is extremely desirous of being accepted into this "movement" because it represents the most ready made arena for the creation of national chaos. S.D.S., knowing what their absolute revolutionary philosophy but also being aware of the difficulty they are having in recruiting and/or developing ultra-militants in sufficient numbers, they envision the Black Militants as being the key (the tool) to total anarchy. S.D.S., knowing the necessity for such a coalition, but having received such a cool response from the Black Movement when (S.D.S.) has solicited participation, S.D.S. presently is engaged in their own campaign in support of the demands being made by the "Blacks." This campaign is really designed to attempt to condition the minds of the "Blacks" with respect to S.D.S. purported total concurrence. A portion of this campaign will involve a concerted effort to reach as many "poor whites" as possible to attempt to convince them that the "Black Man's" plight is real and his militant approach is therefore justified, however, the Black Man's problems are in effect not that much different from the "poor whites"; both segments are exploited by the rich, white, capitalist power structure of America. Therefore, the ultimate would be for both segments (especially the poor whites) to learn to understand and respect the problems of the other and begin to strive toward a united resistance.

S.D.S. is fully aware that it will take far more than the leftists and subversive they are able to recruit to be successful in overthrowing the government; this is why they must rally the masses.

Significantly, S.D.S. is aware that the "Black Nationalists" philosophy parallels theirs, in that neither is striving for reform but rather, revolution.

A part of the tactics to be employed that will assist in establishing a definite separation between the masses (white and black) and the Imperialist power structure of America is as follows:

1. They are instructed to bring the question of white supremacy into their work in all cases. When opposing the Vietnam war, they are to especially expose it as a racist, white supremacist war; an extension of U.S. Genocide policies toward Indians, Afro-Americans and other dark skinned people of the world.
2. They should discover and take advantage of every opportunity to point out white workers the nature of the white supremacist deal and show them how it operates against them by tying them to their enemy, the bosses.

Information sources established that, not only S.D.S., but all groups that fall into the "new Left" category, are subscribing to the mechanics outlined in this summary without exception. These fundamental theories have been set into motion and the only deviations expected will be variations that are developed to cause a given tactic to be more applicable to a certain exploitable problem or program.

Interesting, but not surprising, is the fact that in every situation deemed fertile for manipulation by the movement, the police are included as one of the main targets. In this respect we can expect to see more and more situations designed to create confrontations between the police and citizens. In local meetings and elsewhere, the movement has acknowledged their delight over the type of news coverage they were given to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, Ill. The type of situation, if planned and controlled properly, will get them more free publicity and sympathy than could a million dollars; plus, it lends credibility to their position that they could not get otherwise.

REC-102

February 28, 1969

100-431048-2576

Honorable Samuel L. Devine
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Mr. DeLoach has shown me your letter of February 25th enclosing a copy of a publication about the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Although there are no identifying data in this material, it appears to be a dissertation upon the purposes of the SDS together with suggested courses of action for members of this organization. *JEN*

SDS, as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. This association of young people has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status and denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. It also seeks to "radically transform" the university community and to provide for its complete control by students. The SDS is infiltrated by Communist Party members, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

I am enclosing some material on this group which I hope will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours, ✓

J. Edgar Hoover



SEE NOTE ON PAGE 2.

Wm
JBT:wm (3)
Enclosures (5)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

Director's Testimony on 2-23-68 re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

Director's Statement Before National Commission on the Causes and

Prevention of Violence

Should Be Law or Tyranny?

Reads on Campus

He KEROX
MAR 13 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Honorable Samuel L. Devine

NOTE: Congressman Devine is a former Special Agent and he is on the Special Correspondents List. His enclosure is a treatise on the purposes of SDS containing suggestions for various programs and activities which members may engage in to promote organization. There are no identifying units in it; however, it appears to have been prepared by someone within the organization.

1 -

3-5-69

b7C

Airtel

To: SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

One of the workshops at the last SDS National Convention held from June 9-15, 1968, at East Lansing, Michigan, was on the subject of Internal Security and Self Defense. Among the proposals made at this workshop was one that dealt with a pamphlet to be prepared concerning a number of matters regarding tactics to be utilized by SDS members for their own self-protection. In this regard, one of the subjects broached was the preparation of a "rogues gallery" of police officers. By having photos of police officers, it was hoped they could be identified as members of right-wing organizations.

The Bureau does not recall receipt of any additional information regarding this particular matter and you are requested to promptly advise through contact with logical sources and informants if SDS has taken any steps to put this particular proposal into effect.

WNP:hls
(4)

MAILED 6

MAR 5 1969

COMM-FBI

REC-1

EX-112

MAR 5 1969

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

53 APR 11 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1/4/69

Airtel

1

67C

To: SACs, New York (100-148047)
Chicago (100-40903)
San Francisco (100-52152)

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY - General
IS - SDS

Information has been received from several informants that captioned organization has set forth a program which was initially proposed by the Columbia University chapter of SDS to "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools, (A National Winter - Spring Offensive)."

This program and a supplement to the program which have been prepared in leaflet form show the plans of SDS for fomenting student uprisings and demonstrations at colleges and high schools during the coming spring to be culminated by a mass mobilization in Washington, D. C., on or about April 12, 13, 1969.

Recipients of this communication are directed to instruct their informants and sources to obtain all pertinent data concerning this program and the Bureau must be kept promptly advised of all plans by SDS to put this program into effect.

WNP:lvh
(8)

REC-1

100-439048-2578

19 MAR 5 1969

EX-110

NOTE:

Information concerning the above noted-program has been furnished the White House, the Attorney General and other appropriate Government agencies. The Crime Records Division has also furnished information concerning this program to appropriate news sources to expose this subversive blueprint for action by SDS.

53 APR 11 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holmes _____

VIA TELETYPE
 ENCIPHERED

2/6

WA--11--910 PM RSH
 URGENT 2-25-69 RSH
 TO DIRECTOR --PLAINTEXT--
 FROM CHICAGO (100-44715) (P)

REC-112

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU), STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
 SOCIETY (SDS)-DEMONSTRATION FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE INSTANT.
 IS-SDS, STAG. 00; CHICAGO.

[REDACTED] CAPTIONED DEMON-
 STRATION SPONSORED BY SDS NU CHAPTER, EVANSTON, ILL., IN
 PROTEST OF DOW CHEMICAL CO. RECRUITERS ON NU CAMPUS THIS DATE,
 ATTRACTED APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS BY TWELVE NOON
 TODAY, AT STUDENT PLACEMENT CENTER (SPC), ONE NINE FOUR ZERO
 SHERIDAN ROAD, EVANSTON. FROM NINE AM UNTIL NOON VERY LITTLE
 ACTIVITY AND DALE F. BRANDT, ^{MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION} NU SDS LEADER, IN CHARGE OF DEMONSTRATION,
 WAS CONTINUOUSLY ATTEMPTING TO INCREASE CROWD SIZE. SOURCE ADVISED
 THAT, AT NOON, PART OF TWO HUNDRED DEMONSTRATORS AND/OR
 CURIOSITY-SEEKERS BLOCKED PUBLIC STREET BETWEEN ONE NINE FOUR
 ZERO-SIX ZERO SHERIDAN ROAD, TRYING TO GET CLOSER TO SPC.

END PAGE ONE

To White House, AG, Secret
 Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI,
 OSI, DIA, by tel 2-26-69.

15 MAR 5 1969

56 APR 11 1969

54 MAR 12 1969

CC: SA to DAG; AAG; CIVIL RIGHTS,
 IS, CHINA, NIS,
 IDIU, Vice President 2-26-69.

5-2

UNRECORDED COPY

PAGE TWO

SOURCE ADVISED EVANSTON PD TRIED TO CLEAR STREET, FAILED, AT
LEAST THREE INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED INCLUDING STEVE LUBET, FORMER
NU SDS LEADER.

^{b7d}
[REDACTED] EVANSTON PD ARRESTED
SIX WHITE MALE NU STUDENTS ON DISORDERLY CONDUCT CHARGE, DURING
EFFORT TO CLEAR PUBLIC STREET BETWEEN ONE NINE FOUR ZERO-SIX
ZERO SHERIDAN ROAD, EVANSTON, BLOCKED BY INDIVIDUALS

DEMONSTRATING AGAINST DOW CHEMICAL CO. RECRUITERS ON NU CAMPUS,
SOURCE ADVISED FOLLOWING ARRESTED; STEPHEN JALMAR BOWDEN, DOB

[REDACTED] BRUCE E. CORY, DOB [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] JEROME HYMAN, DOB [REDACTED] ^{b7c}

[REDACTED] MAURY STEVEN LUBET, DOB [REDACTED]

DAVID SHIMASAKI, DOB [REDACTED]

RONALD J. ZACH,

DOB [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARRESTS OF SIX NU ^{b7d}

STUDENTS AT DOW CHEMICAL DEMONSTRATION MADE DUE TO THEIR
BLOCKING OF PUBLIC STREET AND UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES HAVE
NOT REQUESTED PD ASSISTANCE. SOURCE ADVISED DEMONSTRATORS DISPERSED
TWO THIRTY PM. DURING PERIOD TWELVE NOON - TWO THIRTY PM, ANTI-
DOW DEMONSTRATORS WERE DOMONSTRATED AGAINST AND HECKELED BY
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

APPROXIMATELY SEVENTYFIVE-ONE HUNDRED OTHER NU STUDENTS. NO
INCIDENTS BETWEEN GROUPS..

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED.
ADMINISTRATIVE

REMYTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYFOUR LAST.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
LHM FOLLOWS. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH C

Per Mr. Wells
X-1070

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 20 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

WA 06 528PM RMF
URGENT / 2-20-69 RMF
TO DIRECTOR -CODE-
FROM CHICAGO 100-44715 P

REC 16

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY /NU/ STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

/SDS/. POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION FEBRUARY TWENTYFIVE SIXTYNINE

IS - SDS STAG

XEROX
MAR 6 1969

RELIABLE SOURCE THIS DATE ADVISED NU SDS SPONSORING DEMON-
STRATION FEB. TWENTYFIVE NEXT AGAINST DOW CHEMICAL CO. REPRESENT-
ATIVES WHO WILL BE RECRUITING ON NU CAMPUS, EVANSTON, ILL.
THAT DATE. SOURCE ADVISED FORM OF DEMONSTRATION NOT YET
DECIDED AND SDS MEMBERSHIP AT ODDS AS TO BEST METHOD TO USE.
SOURCE ADVISED JEFF RICE, FRESHMAN STUDENT AT NU, ELECTED TO POSI-
TION OF SDS SECRETARY, DEC, SIXTYEIGHT, APPOINTED DALE F. BRANDT,
SOPHOMORE STUDENT AT NU, AS CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE TO DETERMINE
STRATEGY AGAINST DOW.

REC 10

100-437048-2580

ADVISED SDS IS SUPPOSEDLY HOLDING

END PAGE ONE

To White House, AG, Secret
Service, CIA, STATE, ACSI, OSI, DIA, by tel 2-2467.

CC: sato DAG; AAG; WHL
12, CR1, NIS
IDIU, Vice President 2-2467.

58 APR 11 1969

PAGE TWO

MEETINGS AND "EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS" DURING WEEKEND FEB. TWENTYONE-THREE NEXT IN VARIOUS STUDENT RESIDENCES IN EFFORT TO GAIN SUPPORT.

[REDACTED] ADVISED SDS HAS BEEN HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING SUPPORT FOR THEIR GROUP. RECENT MEETINGS HAVE NOT ATTRACTED MORE THAN EIGHT-TEN PEOPLE. SOURCE BELIEVED FEB. TWENTYFIVE NEXT DEMONSTRATION WILL PROBABLY BE NOISY BUT NOT DESTRUCTIVE.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, LOCAL MILITARY AND EVANSTON PD ADVISED.

---ADMINISTRATIVE---

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]
NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING AND BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

[REDACTED] b7c

END

WA...JDR

FBI WASH DC

X-JDS/Trainer

C. M. LUGGS

1

b7C

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS**

WNP:lvh
(4) *lvh*

1-ENCLOSURES

REC 99 - 427011-2581

[illegible]MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES AND DIRECTION OF S.D.S. FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

the current and future "theme" of "S.D.S." is, "we've got to reach our own people." Our own people, in this sense, was defined as: working class, poor, students, union Blacks, young and old. The various segments of people referred to here is broken down further to explain the most exploitable areas of each segment.

The most pressing but yet the most fertile issue to organize and rally around, is the Vietnam war. For the purpose of resistance to the "American System," which is the ultimate goal of the New Left, the war issue is in effect described as a "catch-all" because, unlike labor unions or campus problems where the only persons concerned are those directly involved, a significant percentage of people are concerned from all of society regarding the war and its ramifications. It is hoped that the drawing together of people regarding the war dissent, will eventually and more dramatically develop the effort to impede and disrupt the functioning of the Military and Political Machinery wherever it is local and vulnerable because it is felt that power throughout the existing society is illegitimate and unresponsive to public opinion. It is also believed that the proper resistance can draw together those people who are sufficiently detached from the integrative social mechanisms of this country so that they could never participate in propaganda/symbolic-confrontation-oriented movement.

It is explained that the following broad outline can be used in developing wedges and rallying points among the working class and the poor with respect to the war dissent.

1. It is here that the war hits hardest.
 - A. Young men from these communities do most of the dying in Vietnam.
 - B. Their fathers and brothers did most of the dying in Korea.
 - C. It is their unions that are suppressed in the name of the war effort; their wage gains will be erased by war inflation; their checks will feel hardest the squeeze of a war tax.
 - D. The war will result in token of relief, job training, school improvement, and rent supplements will be cut off.

the theory applied here is the common interest quotient, in that common line of interest helps to unite and solidify the various factions that fall into this social segment. i. e. it can bring the welfare mother, worker, parent, and young person into one class and into a vacuum of common interest; which in effect bridges the gaps.

S.D.S. further qualifies their desire to use the war issue as a solidifying device by outlining that they are focusing on the draft because it is the most important and most tangible manifestation of the war in most peoples lives; hardly anyone exists in lower class working community who does not have friends or close relatives who are in the Army or threatened by it, and by coming into the community with a program that will keep themselves or their friends, or their children, or their loved ones, out of war.

S.D.S. admits that the most over-riding reason for becoming so actively engaged in the area of war and draft dissent is, "simply for the preservation of the movement, because the movement is in danger of collapse. Actually, this admission represents the fact that the organizations participation in this particular area is only a means by which they hope to increase in size, and deepen the roots of social protest and dissent. The gravity of the people to significantly resist the American system is over. In effect, the philosophy of the movement is to: "Organize, mobilize, and move the movement is to fight back to seek real confrontations with power and to ensure survival--to live."

100-439042-2581
ENCLOSURE

The broadly outlined organizing mechanics with red to various communities and groups are outlined by the S.D.S. as follows:

1. Community Based Draft Resistance.

A. Disaffected areas -- Draft resistance grows faster and stronger in sectors of the population that are disaffected with the war and the Political machinery.

B. Ethnic communities - Think of black and ethnic communities, Puerto Rican, Polish, American Indian, German, etc. Also think of lower class white working communities; less than half of these communities vote because they do not believe that Political leaders will do anything for them and they are the ones primarily who are getting drafted -- these are the people who can form a base of power to resist the war and political machinery. Draft resistance is the way to reach them because the draft is touching almost every one of their families.

C. Students - Students are most often the troops of the movement. Since students are very often the ones with the time and background development that allows them to develop opposition to and organization against the establishment, they must be the ones to bring agitation and organization to Americans who do not have that time or background.

D. Draft Union Program - e.g. a "flying" group that, during the course of its work, tries various ways of reaching out into potentially insurgent communities -- Pick the neighborhood for some good reason; seek out people there who know their way around; look for areas where there is a "rooted" neighborhood peace group; where there are Welfare Rights organizations; a fight with the political machine; rent strikes; unions; renewal issues as an issue of control of schools, the hospitals or the police. Check on the listings of men who are classified as 1-A in the city. The draft board will not give out their addresses but if you send them a letter through the draft board, they are required by law to forward mail to men in this classification.

E. Leaflet - Leaflet the surrounding blocks, the churches, schools, community centers, bars, and barbershops, asking permission to set up a draft information center, you should inform the people whom you contact that Draft Information Centers are spring up over the country and that your desire is to get people to stand up in their own defense against this unjust war which is not in the American peoples' interest. You should make a strong statement against the war to let people know where you stand. Circulate a petition getting signatures that support your right to be in the neighborhood: the right of the people to learn about alternatives to the draft and the right of people to resist the draft. Get to know ministers, priests, grade school and high school teachers. Try to get invitations to speak in schools about the draft and/or the war. Help set up "underground" high school newspapers. It is important to work with students you know, and not from the outside or from the top.

F. Resistance Centers - Try to establish the Draft Resistance Center in a place where high school people hang around in the afternoon and evenings. To help attract students, place speaker bushes and play some good music. Let high school students use the office for things they want to do: it is their union as much as it is yours. Have information on other things besides the draft which you think will develop political consciousness and which will interest people. Get into

community life; talk to people in if rooms, bars, bowling alley, etc., take care of babies for mothers; try to get people to come in the Center and have coffee. You may want protection, i.e. police, state, etc., and the neighborhood people are the only protection you have. Fight along side of the people in other issues of community control. This develops confidence and they will then listen to what you have to say. Try to get these same people to talk about the draft and leaflet with you.

- G. Newsletters - Put out a newsletter that not only talks about your fight but theirs (the community) as well. Pass it out door-to-door, shopping centers, schools, etc. It is important to participate in peace groups and to help set them up: They will want to know the facts and may give you money, materials or access to reproduction facilities. Use all of the "tight" non-establishment groups that exist if possible. Besides induction center demonstrations put out your own leaflet explaining your own reason for support in other demonstrations, such as, welfare, housing, against a Mayor, for Policy Control Board, in support of black political prisoners. Anything to convince the people that you are on their side.
- H. Support Groups - It is important to set up support groups among lawyers, doctors, labor union staff people, and other professionals. They can help with property bond, legal services, publicity contacts and money. Organize young women in a group to keep young men from submitting to the draft and support those who refuse. Young women can break through a lot of the - "Be a man" propaganda which lures young men into the service.
- I. Fund Raising - Fund raising letters should include newsletters, sample leaflets, etc. If the draft union is going to have a real base in the community, it must be supported mostly by the community. Some members of the Union should get jobs and bring home paychecks. Working will also give you both roots and credibility in the community.
- J. Group Structure - Since the draft resistance group is an attempt to reach into the Community, it must be run so that new community people can have an equal share in decision making. Since you have a political point of view, it is important sometimes to throw some people out of the group. Do not vote on issues, discuss them until you have convinced enough people for the necessary support.
- K. Community Unions - If Draft Resistance Unions establish themselves genuinely in the community and find the people there who will confront the government's use of poor or working people in the war, it may be possible to form a community union which will try to take local power.
- L. Talk - We can begin to break through the anti-communism if we begin to talk in our literature about the good way people live in Cuba, North Vietnam, in Eastern European Countries and in all over the new revolutionary third world countries.

America, how it works and messes people up in this country and all over the world, outrages us sometimes to a point where rats and roaches seem silly. Housing problems, welfare, food prices, and cops are the kind of thing most people in poor and working class neighborhoods know and must deal with every day of their lives.

Currently S.D.S. is experiencing difficulty in being accepted that the Union is an equally revolutionary predominately white movement that is dedicated to

the "Black Movement" principals. S.D.S. is extremely desirous of being accepted into this "movement" because it represents the most ready made area for the creation of national chaos. S.D.S., knowing what their absolute revolutionary philosophy but also being aware of the difficulty they are having in recruiting and/or developing ultra-militants in sufficient numbers, they envision the Black Militants as being the key (the tool) to total anarchy. S.D.S., knowing the necessity for such a joint coalition, but having received such a cool response from the Black Movement when (S.D.S.) has solicited participation, S.D.S. presently is engaged in their own campaign in support of the demands being made by the "Blacks." This campaign is really designed to attempt to condition the minds of the "Blacks" with respect to S.D.S. purported total concurrence. A portion of this campaign will involve a concerted effort to reach as many "poor whites" as possible to attempt to convince them that the "Black Man's" plight is real and his militant approach is therefore justified, however, the Black Man's problems are in effect not that much different from the "poor whites"; both segments are exploited by the rich, white, capitalist power structure of America. Therefore, the ultimate would be for both segments (especially the poor whites) to learn to understand and respect the problems of the other and begin to strive toward a united resistance.

S.D.S. is fully aware that it will take far more than the leftists and subversive they are able to recruit to be successful in overthrowing the government; this is why they must rally the masses.

Significantly, S.D.S. is aware that the "Black Nationalists" philosophy parallels theirs, in that neither is striving for reform but rather, revolution.

A part of the tactics to be employed that will assist in establishing a definite separation between the masses (white and black) and the Imperialist power structure of America is as follows:

1. They are instructed to bring the question of white supremacy into their work in all cases. When opposing the Vietnam war, they are to especially expose it as a racist, white supremacist war; an extension of U.S. Genocide policies toward Indians, Afro-Americans and other dark skinned people of the world.
2. They should discover and take advantage of every opportunity to point out white workers the nature of the white supremacist deal and show them how it operates against them by tying them to their enemy, the bosses.

Information sources established that, not only S.D.S., but all groups that fall into the "new Left" category, are subscribing to the mechanics outlined in this summary without exception. These fundamental theories have been set into motion and the only deviations expected will be variations that are developed to cause a given tactic to be more applicable to a certain exploitable problem or program.

Interesting, but not surprising, is the fact that in every situation deemed fertile for manipulation by the movement, the police are included as one of the main targets. In this respect we can expect to see more and more situations designed to create confrontations between the police and citizens. In local meetings and elsewhere, the movement has acknowledged their delight over the type of news coverage that was given to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, Ill. The movement, in this type of situation, if planned and controlled properly, will get more free publicity and sympathy than could a million dollars; plus, it lends credibility to their position that they could not get otherwise.

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☐ Handle

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☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

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Students for a Democratic Society

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Chicago, Illinois

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 4, Number 5

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

February 5, 1969

NIC notes

(See Page 9)

Huey rallies to stress self-defense

SDS and the Black Panther Party will celebrate Huey P. Newton's birthday (Feb. 17) at rallies across the country. The theme will be the Panther concept of self-defense based on the active participation of the community in its own protection. The rallies can also be used as part of a program to attack institutional racism, and can serve as an _____ to help build a working relationship with the Panthers on local levels. The NIC last weekend voted to encourage SDS chapters to participate in rallies, or sponsor them alone if there is no local active black group. (For related stories, see pages 6 and 7.)





People's Republic of China/LNS

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
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Chicago Grand Jury

(The grand jury looking into Chicago's Democratic Convention demonstrations has leaked its plans to indict at least six movement people, probably under the federal interstate riot act. It's important that we know how to meet this latest attack on us. See story on page 3.)

1. IF YOU ARE SUBPOENAED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE GRAND JURY, NOTIFY US AT ONCE. YOU NEED LEGAL COUNSEL.
2. IF YOU KNOW OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN SUBPOENAED ALSO CONTACT US AT ONCE.

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

inauguration

I hope the brothers and sisters who participated in the street actions in Washington during the inauguration will join in some kind of self-criticism. My own impression is that from participating and from talking to people was that the actions were not revolutionary in content or execution. On the contrary, they seemed mostly runbling and self-indulgent. I think people have to get busy. They raised consciousness, provided to the movement, desecrated the establishment (over and above what was accomplished just by being along the parade route and forcing the armed troops into the open), or otherwise showed us forward. And whether they showed our weakness more than built up strength.

I include in this criticism the entire demonstration at the Agnew reception last Sunday afternoon. I was among those who helped get people over to the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to show a way from what seemed a dead-end situation between our own people about the Vietnam war. I thought they should have been out at the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to show a way from what seemed a dead-end situation between our own people about the Vietnam war. I thought they should have been out at the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to show a way from what seemed a dead-end situation between our own people about the Vietnam war.



Why were we there and what point was there in doing what we were doing?

Newsworld/LNS

National question

Why were we there and what point was there in doing what we were doing? I include in this criticism the entire demonstration at the Agnew reception last Sunday afternoon. I was among those who helped get people over to the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to show a way from what seemed a dead-end situation between our own people about the Vietnam war. I thought they should have been out at the Smithsonian, where it was held, partly to show a way from what seemed a dead-end situation between our own people about the Vietnam war.

as determination. Social-Democracy it to party of the proletariat, considers to be its positive and principal task the advance the self-determination of working class within each national territory. It is to the interests of the class struggle, Lenin emphasizes, that revolutionaries will always subordinate the demand for national self-determination.

In a concrete situation, the Soviet Government at first did not oppose the formation of the Ukrainian Rada, recognizing the right of the Ukrainian people to a degree of autonomy, but when it became clear that the Rada was serving only the bourgeoisie and opposing the power of the Ukrainian Soviets, the slogan became "Death to the Rada!"

In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Lenin emphasized that the Socialists of the oppressed nations "must particularly fight for and maintain complete, absolute unity (also organizational) between the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressing nation...for the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation always converts the slogan of national liberation into a means for deceiving the workers." Communists, Lenin said, "must dialectically single out the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general concept of national interests as a whole, which implies the interests of the ruling class."

Pawns in the Game

To talk, as Draszin does, of the oppression of black people by white workers is to "miss the point." White workers have often been used as (in the words of Dylan's song) "pawns in the game" of the bosses—but "only a pawn." To speak of it any other way

what is wanted by the ruling class. Revolution can only be defeated on a class basis. Black people are not an external colony which can win its "national liberation" outside of the existence of a revolution in what the Panthers call the "mother country." Since this is true, any division which holds that back is contrary to the interests and freedom of the black people. Hence nationalism as an ideology, which raises a secondary contradiction to a position above the basic contradiction in society, that, between bosses and workers, can only hold back the struggle for black liberation.

This does not mean that one does not make concessions to nationalism, it does mean that one maintains a critical approach to demands and organizations. It means that one always analyzes the basic class content of what is occurring. It means that one understands that the black movement must be led by the black working class, and that only a movement led by the entire working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, can bring liberation to black people.

Bernie Farber
Roosevelt SDS

New Left Notes

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Debroyst Adventurism

But what harm is this contradiction supposed to take? Dave Kline says "We're going to build a people's army. Bullshit. A close look at the development of the Chinese People's Liberation Army suggests quite strongly that any attempt in the immediate future to build an American PLA would be a disaster. Written in 1953 Mao points out that a PLA and Red base area cannot achieve a "long-term survival" if it is an "imperialist country or in any country under direct imperialist rule." "Why is that Red Political Power Can Exist in China," Selected Military Writings, pp. 12-13) Mao argues that "war within the white regime is essential to the development of a political base area, and it should be clear that an American PLA without a base area, or even the hope of establishing one, would quickly be annihilated by the military arm of the ruling class."

Mao's analysis also suggests the importance of militarizing efforts within the army in another fashion, in that, in reference to the PLA's stint in the Chinghang mountains in the late 1920's, he declares "As for the present Red Army, it is a split-off from the National Revolutionary Army which underwent democratic political training and came under the influence of the masses of workers and peasants." To overstate somewhat, we should substitute students for peasants and then the correct tactics of the left in relation to the American military behemoth become much more readily discernible. It is crucial that those who are used as instruments of oppression by the military are aided in a struggle with the immediate causes of their dehumanization and oppression. SDSers and GIs alike should recognize that the American Servicemen's Union is the best vehicle for that struggle.

People's army?

In the NLN article "Revolution in the Army" (January 22, 1969), Bernardino Debra quotes recently-discharged GI Dave Kline's general criticism of unending efforts in the army. Said criticism reflects fundamental errors which, if allowed to prevail, would effectively prevent the achievement of a correct and solid unity of achievement and practice—a unity which, at this time, is most closely approximated by the efforts of the American Servicemen's Union.

Kline declares, "We aren't trying to reform the army, we don't see no good values in the army worth reforming. We're going to build a People's Liberation Army." (Page 5) To begin, the politics and long-range strategy of the organization of the ASU should make it clear to anyone who is willing to take a long, objective look at the union that they, too, "see no good values in the army worth reforming." However, to suggest, as Kline's statement does, that a demand for recognition of the rights of enlisted men to refuse illegal orders, to elect their officers is tantamount to their not worth struggling for, is to fail to understand one of the most essential principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Paul Lauter
Baltimore

pickeing or street confrontation seems to be the only way to present non-revolutionary circumstances when tied to specific demands, even if these are only tactical. That was true at Columbia and even in Chicago (the demand was for the right to demonstrate). Too many of our people at the Agnew thing and again on Monday asked why we were there and what point there was in doing what we were doing. We have to answer such questions. And I think people have instead been slipping into a subjective and arbitrary habit of seeing them streets pushing over garbage cans as a substitute for disciplined actions tied to coherent strategic objectives.

Grand jury moves against the movement

by Kathy Archibald
NO Staff

The federal grand jury which has been sitting in Chicago since last fall investigating the Democratic National Convention has begun issuing subpoenas to movement people. This indicates that the grand jury has probably finished hearing testimony from the police, FBI, informers and agents. In order to hand down its indictments the grand jury is now fishing for "collaborative" information from hostile, that is, movement witnesses. As many as eight movement people may already have testified.

Most of those receiving subpoenas and testifying so far have been young people, not closely tied to any organization, and generally new or relatively inexperienced in the movement.

In some cases they have been called into the U.S. Attorney's office before testifying for private conversations; these conversations are later used against them in the grand jury hearing room. Because of the naïveté of many of those subpoenaed and because the Mobilization assumed no organizational responsibility for the follow-up of the action it sponsored in Chicago, those subpoenaed have been treated as individuals rather than in a collective manner.

Why the Grand Jury is a Dangerous Weapon

1) Grand jury hearings are conducted in secret: there are no judges, no public spectators, those subpoenaed may not have a lawyer with them inside; there is no public transcript, etc. Therefore most of the tactics normally used in a courtroom—e.g., mass trials, large

public in court cannot be used by the movement in a grand jury proceeding. 2) IMMUNITY AND PERJURY. Those subpoenaed are generally not those whom the grand jury wants to indict. The grand jury is primarily interested in what you have to say that will help them get information against others. Therefore, when someone refuses to testify by taking the Fifth Amendment, they are often given immunity; exemption from federal prosecution. Then taking the Fifth is no longer possible, and the judge can order you to testify. The testimony will be used against other people. This is a very serious responsibility.

(Another little trick is that often you are not given immunity from state prosecution, and your testimony can still be used to get you on state charges. They may not tell you that there are two different kinds of immunity.) Many firms give testimony before the grand jury. Then when movement people are called and they do testify, saying "no I did not conspire to..." the link is paraded out to lie, "But I heard him say..." There is the possibility that, as in the past, you become subject to perjury charges. The result: damned if you testify and damned if you don't.

3) CONTEMPT. If you refuse to testify at all, you are, of course, subject to contempt of the grand jury charges. That is, the judge will order you to testify, you continue to refuse, and are subject to thirty days in jail. One of the most courageous, and best political stands before a grand jury in recent times, was taken by the Progressive Labor Party in New York after the 1964 Harlem rebellion. Persons called at that time refused to testify.

movement and to the country as a whole how the Grand Jury was used as a weapon against the people. As a result, many were cited for contempt and served time in prison. One person was called up a second time, refused again, and served a second sentence.

What the Grand Jury is Looking For

The grand jury seems to be constructing a story of webs of conspiracies and trying to link them into one "great conspiracy" upon which to base its indictments. For instance, demonstration plans to provide legal aid and medical assistance are being construed as evidence of sub-conspiracies to "violate the law" and provoke "violence". No one knows, of course, exactly who will be indicted or on what charges; but it seems likely that the indictments will be for violation of the federal anti-riot law.

This statute has been on the books for nearly two years; to date there have been no prosecutions. In a nutshell the anti-riot law makes almost every type of ordinary movement organizing illegal: for example, travel, use of phones, mail or telegraph to organize demonstrations may be construed as illegal. Indictments under this anti-riot law will mark an escalation of the state's attack on the movement. Convictions under that law will make day-to-day harassment of the movement by the federal government much more severe and frequent.

The Big Movement Myth

Much lip service is paid these days to the necessity for exposing the class nature of the courts. Yet a surprising number of folks in the movement think that the grand jury will strike up its own

that those subpoenaed should testify in order to convince the jurors to make a just decision. Others think they can "outfox" the grand jury: testify without jeopardizing anyone. (That same attitude prevails in regard to talking to the F.B.I., President's Commission on Violence, etc.) Still others do not recognize that when individuals go in honestly, if naively, that cops and finks can be set against them. In the past agents have claimed that some of the people who have testified before the grand jury turned in evidence. This method of calling someone a cop is a divisive weapon used with some frequency. And since the hearings are secret there is no real counter to it.

Decisions Will be Political

It should be crystal clear that the decisions about the indictments are political decisions which will be made in Washington. There are special attorneys from the Justice Department in Chicago assisting with the grand jury proceedings. It should be equally clear that a single individual in a secret hearing, not knowing exactly what little odds and ends of evidence are being sought after will not outfox an accumulation of 100 years of interrogation techniques. In sum, any decisions about what to do when subpoenaed must rest firmly on the understanding that the grand jury is a weapon of the state, just like the police; that those weapons cannot be turned against the state unless they are exposed to the movement and to the people. We must respond to the grand jury subpoenas and to the indictments which follow. This response must be collective, not individual; it must clearly demonstrate the class bias of the courts and it must seek support from the people—the only protection that a

political points to the jury and the

they did not fall into the immunity/perjury trap; they exposed to the

that the grand jury will make up its own mind about the indictments, and therefore

REPORT

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN: Monday night saw the latest militant actions at Michigan State University. The scene was the state of the university address, delivered by University President Hamrah, recently chosen head of the Imperialist Agency for International Development. About 600 students gathered outside in a picket line and rally while five movement people with invitations went inside to "work from within."

Sporadic fighting broke out with jocks and pigs as speakers outside spoke to the true state of the university, and 60 pigs in riot gear dramatized the reality. Students took the streets for a short while, held meetings in a couple of buildings (which kept the cops moving), and hassled uptight faculty and newsmen leaving the building (one impolite cameraman lost his camera).

The students are building on two demands: 1) the rehiring with tenure of Bert Garshof of the Psychology Department, and 2) open admissions for all black, Third World, and white working-class people. The slogan has become "Open it up or shut it down"; the students' attempt to open the university may very well lead to an administrative decision to shut it down.



MADISON, WISCONSIN: Nine hundred National Guardsmen were mobilized Feb. 12 to deal with the growing student strike at the University of Wisconsin.

The strike began Feb. 10 around demands put forward by the black students, revolving around a demand for an autonomous Black Studies Department. Since then the number of students present at rallies and picketing has grown to almost 3000. The students have employed mobile tactics, avoiding heavy confrontations with the cops. There was, however, a clash on Wednesday between strikers and plainclothesmen in front of Bascom Hall during which several strikers were beaten and arrested. After that, the governor called out the Guard.

The Teacher's Assistants have called for a walk-out/teach-in for Feb. 13-16 and the black members of the faculty have issued a statement of complete support for the strike.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (Champaign-Urbana): A total of 11 Chicago Black Panthers and four black students have been arrested in Champaign-Urbana in the last three days—four of the Panthers more than once. The Panthers were in Champaign-Urbana trying to help organize the black students and the black community. As a result of the recent arrests and the still pending trials

Tactically, cadres of students are asking questions about racism while picking administration offices, tying up police and administrative phone lines, and disrupting classes.

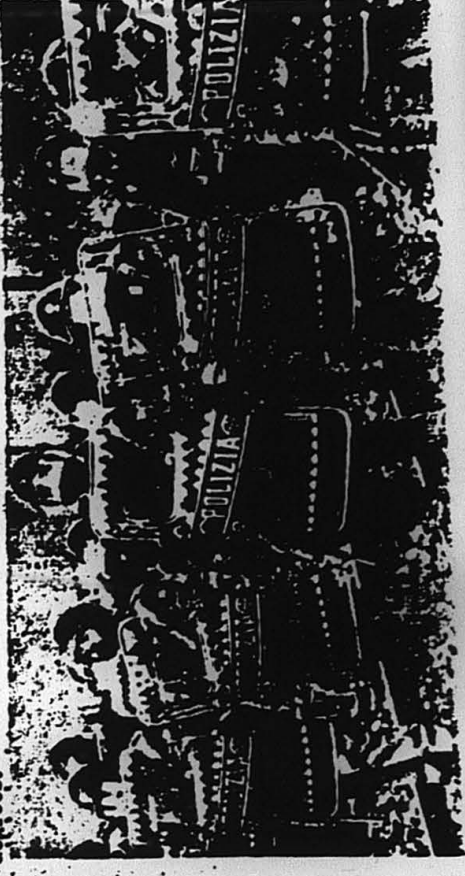
MONTREAL (LNS): 90 persons were arrested on Feb. 11 at Sir George Williams University, where students had been occupying the school's computer center and cafeteria since Jan. 29.

The liberation of the buildings originally stemmed from charges made by six black students, supported by seven whites, against an assistant professor of biology, who was accused of discrimination in grading and general incompetence. The administration delayed acting on the charges for months, finally selecting a committee of six faculty members to arbitrate the issue. The committee was unacceptable to both black and white radicals, and the students then seized the buildings.

EAST ST. LOUIS: (from a news item) "Over 75% of the East St. Louis public school teachers carry guns to work. Spokesmen said the teachers carry guns for protection against students, outsiders, militants, and parents."

ROME: Between 15 and 20 million Italian workers staged a general strike on Feb. 5 for higher pensions. The work stoppage was called as a muscle-flexing gesture toward the government while negotiations on the pension issue continued.

Meanwhile, 10,000 students paraded through downtown Milan to demand changes in the examination and accreditation systems for technical school degrees.



Student & GI: allies in the struggle

by Bob Tomlin

As opposition to the war in Vietnam increased internally, a new force against this imperialist venture began to develop — that of the rank and file GIs. Not since the "We want to come home" demonstrations of GIs after WW II have the brass of the US armed forces been subjected to such open hostility from enlisted men. Just as the increased dissidence of various elements (students, blacks, etc.) has been brought about by America's role of world-wide

cop, the GIs' "spontaneous rebellions," "riots," "strikes," etc. reflect the growing discord among America's exploited. One needs only to rap with almost any GI to understand the deep-rooted resentment manifesting itself on almost every base at home and abroad. This recent development should not be glossed over lightly by serious revolutionaries. A much more extensive effort to reach and organize this newly-awakened oppressed group is an urgent task for SDS and the left.

Given that we start from an anti-imperialist analysis, we should immediately see the importance of the Armed Forces. Just as the police are needed to suppress internal liberation struggles in the ghettos and on the campuses, the army is the principal tool for the conquest and maintenance of an American economic and political empire which must destroy national liberation movements around the world to survive. US business interests and the US government know full well that their power rests on their ability to keep GIs fighting in the Vietnam of the world. This "ability" is slowly and painfully passing from the level of indoctrination and "apple pie" rhetoric to a new level of brutal coercion. Over 30,000 killed and nearly 200,000 wounded in Vietnam are not bland statistics to GIs. Of those GIs strongly against the war, many are returned vets (and not infrequently those who have been wounded there). And no new enlisted man (EM) wants to go to "Nam" now.

Sharp Contradictions

More and more GIs are experiencing a heightened feeling of discontent, stemming from the sharp contradictions between what the army and politicians repeatedly say they are fighting and dying for, and the truth of what they experience in their everyday lives. This discontent exists on many levels — from individual nitty-gritty anti-authoritarianism to a sharp political understanding of the nature of imperialism. It's always easier for someone who's involved in the everyday bullshit to see through it in non-abstract terms. This is true in basic training where the "lifers" — drill sergeants, etc. — (the low-level managerial, petty-bureaucratic mentalities) degrade, humiliate, and attempt to brainwash the new recruits. That an army needs

Others are more for standing up to the brutalities and racism of officers. At San Francisco's Presidio, 27 GIs saw one of their buddies, an emotionally-disturbed 19-year-old, brutally shot to death by a guard, and then protested by refusing to obey further orders. They are primarily being tried for mutiny, a charge carrying a possible death sentence. Over 500 active-duty GIs, supported by 15,000 civilians and reservists, marched against the war in Vietnam October 13 in San Francisco. Many units have had their orders for Vietnam cancelled by sabotaging their equipment, disobeying orders, and "relaying hell." Other units have been disbanded or reassigned due to low morale. Major rebellions have occurred at Ft. Bragg, N.C., Ft. Sill, Okla., Ft. Campbell, Ky., Ft. Carson, Colo., Ft. Lewis, Wash., the Brooklyn Naval Station — the list is too long to be given here.

Individuals Harassed

Besides major rebellions, individuals have been harassed, imprisoned, or discharged for practicing their elemental rights as human beings and Americans. GIs are threatened with court-martial for possession of underground newspapers and even for speaking up against the war. For more than a year now, two black Marines, Pfc. George Daniels and Cpl. Bill Harvey, have been imprisoned at the Naval Disciplinary Barracks at Portsmouth, N.H. Harvey and Daniels were convicted for saying in a barracks discussion that black men should not be fighting in the white man's war against Vietnam. At a quietly arranged hawguroo court with an officer acting as defense attorney, the result was ten years for Daniels and six years for Harvey. There are of course many other incidents that we never hear about, but as more



the army will... we will be better informed about specific manifestations of the movement. The army is fully aware of it and has increased the number of troops (one army's answer to FBI) at all bases in an attempt to suppress and intimidate the growing expression of discontent. As if secret agents could actually ever stem the rising tide of rebellion!

Building the GI Movement

A historically many people and groups have claimed to have had similar ideas and goals; their differences, however, have become clearer in their practice. Initially, a revolutionary organization will have various tendencies depending on its strength at a particular time. It is impossible and undesirable to now to structure such an organization in national terms, because such basic work remains in the local level. (This of course is subject to rapid reconsideration, since the conditions change. Undoubtedly if the movement outside the bases—black, students, etc.—were stronger, the GI's would be able to reflect this. We must also realize that as the GI's become stronger this added impetus will be felt by other sectors of society.) This, however, does not mean that every base "does its own thing." Rather, what should be done at this stage is to help GI's solidify their strength in each base with the explicit intention of building towards a national democratic revolutionary GI committee. To impose a national structure at this time would be detrimental because it's premature and would lead only to a top-down, elitist, and non-democratic organization. Any GI committee must be just what—a committee of GI's. On each base a counter force to the Army must be built. For such committees to be successful they must be built from a democratic anti-imperialist perspective. GI's must not only understand how they

AWOLs are at Peak

Outside the triple barbed wire fence surrounding the overcrowded Fort Dix stockade, on a large billboard for all to see, is a sign: "Obedience to the law is freedom." This was up long before the Nixon-Wallace-Humphrey barrage. GI's are well aware that stockades now, as never before, are filled to two or three times their capacities, that on so many cases court-martial boards are up to a year behind their caseloads, and that desertions and AWOLs are at unprecedented peaks for recent times.

The following are some examples of what's been happening at bases around the country. In August '68, close to 150 black GI's at Fort Hood, Texas protested being ordered for so-called "riot-control duty" at the Democratic Convention in Chicago—that is to say, control of black people and demonstrators whose fight the soldiers agreed with. Forty-three were arrested and court-martialed. (Because of outside pressure and support, none of them received a sentence of more than eleven months, most got less, and some were acquitted.) August also saw major rebellions against overcrowding, rotten conditions, and humiliations in military prisons at Da Nang and Long Binh, Vietnam. Many of the prisoners were there because they saw the truth about



Mozambique leader assassinated

by Africa Research Group
Liberation News Service

Another black revolutionary leader was assassinated this week.

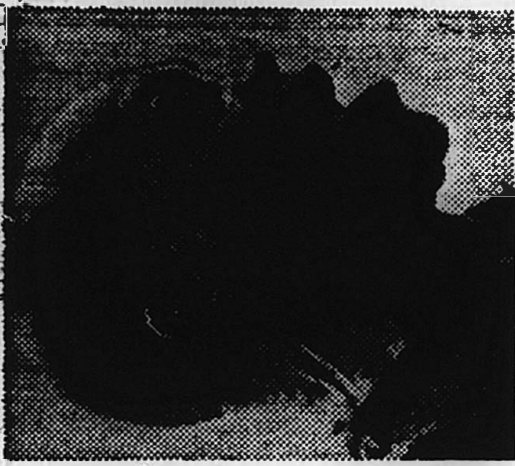
This time the murder took place in Africa; the victim was 49-year-old Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front. The weapon was a time-bomb professionally placed under his desk at the home of a friend in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, the temporary headquarters for the Front's political office.

It's not clear who killed the Mozambican revolutionary, President of FRELIMO since its formation in June, 1962. The Portuguese certainly had the clearest motive. Mondlane was considered the most wanted man in Africa by the Portuguese police.

FRELIMO's army of 8,000 men has already liberated two Northern zones in Mozambique, and the organization has set up its own administration, similar to that of the NLF in South Vietnam. The combination of heavy Portuguese losses and Mondlane's recent threat to sabotage their Cabora Bassa Dam project may have prompted the Portuguese secret police to move against the movement's leader in his Tanzanian sanctuary.

Factionalism in FRELIMO
However, Tanzanian police seem already to have nabbed some suspects within the factionalized community of Mozambican exiles living in Dar Es Salaam. Mondlane was not only hated by the Portuguese, but was also mistrusted by many of his own lieutenants and followers, who considered him too close to the West and especially to the U.S. FRELIMO

Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane



on American policy in Southern Africa. But the incident was there. It was given credence because Mondlane had accepted a one-shot grant from the Ford Foundation for the Mozambique Institute, a school for refugees directed by his wife.

In February, 1967, the New York Times reported that the CIA had been subsidizing nationalist students from Angola and Mozambique. During the same period, Mondlane was named a recipient of funds from the education program of the African-American Institute, an organization which spent at least eight years on the CIA gravy train.

US Aid to Portugal

However, Mondlane's filtration with the U.S. does not change the fact that America supports racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa. Through the U.S. supplies military

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JUST WIND
IT UP
AN IT WILL
HARASS
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THREE
YEARS

GUARANTEED TO
KILL
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GUARANTEED!
TO BE
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WARNING!
DO NOT TALK BACK
TO IT - IT WILL
COUNTER-MARTAL
YOU!

LIMITED TO AN
OBSCENE
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democratic, should be discussed patiently and thoroughly. Organizers must link the individual's disgust with the army to its real political and economic objectives. Before and after battles the rank divisions of the NLF army are completely broken down and discussions of coming battles, political perspectives, etc., occur with all men as equals, each man contributing his part in a democratic manner. (See Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam Will Win.) Comparisons like this with the internal structure of the Liberation Army should

(continued from page 1)
collective strength as a democratic mass movement, where soldiers for the first time in US history will have a decisive voice in determining the decisions which affect their lives. Instead of being cannon fodder for all the Pentagon brass and politicians, once an understanding of why they are being used is accomplished, GI's will see that those they are ordered to kill, maim, and destroy are not their enemies but their brothers.

... of the ... in which movement

use of coffee-houses. These have been successful to varying degrees. A coffee-house can and should fulfill many functions: making government literature readily available to GI's; helping in the printing of an underground newspaper directed at GI's on the base; helping to get legal aid and publicity for organizers and other GI's in trouble on base; giving GI's a place to meet with other GI's, to talk with movement people, to see political films, and to relax off the base. (Most army towns—right outside the base—are totally parasitical, living off the dollars of GI's by catering to their need to escape army life in bars, pool halls, and whore houses.)

Soldiers Feel Isolated

The above functions of the coffee-house are all well and good, but must be seen as tools of organizing rather than as ends in and of themselves. The reason some coffee-houses have had only limited success is that they have fallen into the deadly trap of becoming and remaining only service groups rather than seeing their primary task as helping to build a counter-movement on the base. In some cases the coffee-houses have become places where the same bunch of GI's always hang out. This tendency leads to the building of a small clique of GI's that are seeking to kill time as painlessly as possible until they get out of the army.

This tendency can develop easily because above all else in the army a soldier feels isolated and impotent against the awe-inspiring strength of the institution he's caught in. It must be fought primarily in political terms; that is: You are not alone and helpless when you're organized. It also has to be emphasized that other institutions in American society, though perhaps not as blatantly, are quite similar in their function, the maintenance of an imperialist, racist, capitalist system. When students are speaking to GI's, the parallels with the university should be obvious. The army has to be put into perspective as another arm of the system.

the movement and see themselves as organizers. In this lies the strength to overcome feelings of isolation. As the GI movement continues to grow, its links to outside organizing will become more and more important. The practical ways in which we can all help to build a conscious army are primarily by direct contact with GI's. For example, by rapping, helping to distribute GI underground newspapers at air, bus, and train terminals, setting up dances at college campuses, going to army base towns to bars, restaurants, and pool halls, we can aid in these initial stages of development. Wherever you see that guy in a uniform, see him not as your enemy but as your potential ally, and talk to him accordingly. Because of his daily life experience his views, though not always completely formed, are closer to your own than you realize. As radicals we must see ourselves as organizers all the time. Not only will we aid the GI in his political development through these contacts, but they can teach us innumerable lessons too. One obvious technique would be to have radical GI's speak to high school students who see the army as a quick escape from the realities of life.

The role of students and other movement people in aiding the development of GI committees is at this point almost crucial. During these initial stages of organizing the brass on different bases are going to attempt to crush any attempt by soldiers to organize. Their weapons will be their trumped-up legalities, and they will attempt to operate in secrecy. They will attempt to isolate and destroy those raising their voices in the defense of basic democratic and human rights. The movement must be prepared to support these GI's through mass publicity campaigns and demonstrations. Experience has shown that the brass are much more careful about using heavy repression when there is a lot of outside pressure and support. In this way not only will we aid the struggle of the GI's, but at the same time we will forge an alliance with a strongly

ideological backgrounds. Factionalism within the organization erupted into open fighting early in 1968, although Mondlane had restored an easy calm and was re-elected President in a conference held inside Mozambique in July.

Although most external aid to FRELIMO comes from socialist countries, Mondlane was one of the few African revolutionary leaders who sought assistance in the West.

He knew the U.S. well, having picked up one college degree at Oberlin and another at Northwestern. He taught at Harvard and Syracuse and worked at the UN. Moreover, he was married to an American woman, and the beachside home where he was murdered was owned by Betty King, another American.

"All this gave rise to continuing suspicion in revolutionary circles that Mondlane was backed by the CIA. He denied this on many occasions, always coupling his denials with sharp attacks

It is ironic that the efficient guerrillas, in May, 1963, the then commander of allied forces in Europe's "South." The Portuguese soldiers, while fighting for the defense of principles, are defending land, raw materials, and bases which are indispensable not only for the defense of Europe but for the whole Western World."

Among the "principles" the Portuguese troops defend are the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil in the U.S., and the Pan American International Oil Company. Firestone Rubber also plans to invest \$5 million in a Mozambique factory. Thus, only last December, the Portuguese foreign minister openly bragged to have "sure information that such Western support would continue."

There is little question whose side the U.S. is on in Southern Africa: It is not Mondlane's, whatever dealings he may have had with the West.



The correct handling of a revolution

In defense of self-defense:



Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gastaipo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who throw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

Party Must Provide Leadership

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gastaipo policeman has been executed while slipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary avenger has fled without being

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MINISTER OF DEFENSE

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure . . .

HUEY NEWTON

White radical students and black demands

by Carl Davidson

Copyrighted from The Guardian, Feb. 8)

The vanguard actions of black students attacking the racism of American universities have raised important strategic questions for white radical students. What is the best way for white students to relate to these struggles?

The main thrust of the black students' actions has been for the self-determination of black people, black studies departments, black curriculum, special black studies departments, and, most important, control over all these by black students themselves.

White students have reacted to these demands in several ways. Some have directly opposed them, for overtly racist reasons. Many have been confused, not understanding why an education "good enough for us is not good enough for them." Some have supported the demands for the wrong reasons, thinking that students need special assistance to "raise themselves to our cultural level."

Obviously, white radicals have a special responsibility to fight against these attitudes among their fellow students. But several approaches that have been taken to this problem are wrong.

One of the worst has been the formulation of "white demands." In order to move white students into a common struggle with blacks against the administration, the argument goes, they must be able to fight for additional demands of their "own."

This is wrong on two counts. First, white people are not oppressed because they are white. The opposite is true. Any formulation for struggle based on whiteness is inherently wrong if not immediately.

assumption that anti-racist demands are only in the interest of black people. The rest of the student's supposedly would not benefit from winning these demands.

Mixed Bag

This raises a complex set of questions. What are "student interests"? How do they relate to the class interests of the working class as a whole and black people in particular? What about self-interest? What role is played by nationalism?

Students as a whole do not have a common class interest. They are not a class in themselves, but reflect the class divisions of the larger society. A few are from the ruling class. Some come from the petty-bourgeoisie and middle classes. But in this country, the majority of students come from the working class and will return to the more highly skilled sectors of the working class after graduation.

This mixed bag is the basis of the ambiguity of "student power" demands. Where there is a common interest uniting all students, it usually only concerns narrow on-campus academic and social conditions. Strategies limited to these concerns can, at best, only lead to university reformism.

Explanation Awaits

On the other hand, because of the capitalist oppression of their job-training within the university and the exploitation waiting in their future positions, a majority of students have class interests in common with working people. This is the class basis of the revolutionary potential of the student movement, and

traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach. . . . The masses of two's and three's, but a large number for the party to show the people to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of oppression were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or through participation in the activity. To study and learn is

may student rebellion; have been class struggles, often higher expressions of the class struggle than many trade union strikes.

Since one of the main barriers to the development of class consciousness and revolutionary class solidarity among working people has been racism and the practice of white supremacy, it is in the class interest of all working people and most students to destroy the structure of white privilege. This is especially true in those situations where some white students and working people might have to go against their immediate self-interests to win their class interests.

Dual Oppression

Black people in this country are oppressed in two ways: they suffer a national oppression as a people as well as a class exploitation as a superexploited section of the working class. In this situation, it is in the class interest of the working class of the oppressor nation to support anti-colonial demands as well as the class demands of the oppressed nation. Why? Because there is no other basis for revolutionary class unity as long as the practice and structure of white supremacy exists.

From this perspective, the errors of the "student power" and "white demands" approaches are more clear. The job of white radical students is mobilizing the majority of white students (and working people off the campus) to fight for the black demands. This should be done, not out of liberal sympathy for the blacks, but as a struggle in their own class interests.

The black students are waging a class struggle.

by Huey Newton

experience is the best means to most engage in activities that the black community is engaged in. Therefore it is if the vanguard group first be this knowledge of the black and not gain the fundamental which revolution in racist America. a of the party is to awaken the structure, which is prepared the resistance of the people with ut to totally annihilate the black population.

the power structure that black out of guns in their possession, in the power structure to prepare because it is already more than

this decision will be positive if their resistance and negative care in its oppression, because discipline revolutionary defiance going to make the people aware creation and the strategic method there will be no means by which mobilized properly.

Ciousness of Moses

between the vanguard party and secondary relationship. The relationship of the vanguard party to the vanguard group maintain relationship with each other. This is machinery is to be effective. put together functional party programs without this direct members of the vanguard group revolutionaries. This will minimize from informers and opportunists. of the vanguard group should be consciousness of the masses through in and certain physical activities discipline in. The sleeping masses

on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

At this time, the people know the party exists, and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, and the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these ingrates would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese revolution is investigated, it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Furon's THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of

10 point program and platform for black student union

(reprinted from The Black Panther, Jan. 15)

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

A black and white cartoon illustration of a person lying on their back, wearing a patterned shirt and pants, with a large, dark, irregular shape (possibly a shadow or a large object) on the left side of the frame.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

Militarization

and women

(E.L. note—this paper was presented to the Princeton conference)

(Because we think that the subject of militarization has special relevance to the exploitation and oppression of women, and is germane to our work around the Women's Resolution passed at the Ann Arbor N.C., we have prepared some short notes on the subject, to get folks thinking. — Anne Goodman and Sue Essex)

As evidenced by the effects in budgeting for all social service institutions, at the federal, state, and city levels, since the advent of the Vietnam war, we can see how increased military spending for imperialist wars results in neglect and shut-downs of most state-administered services (hospitals, education institutions, OEO projects, welfare services...). Not merely in economic terms, but also for purposes of militaristic indoctrination and re-education of society, these "service" institutions have increasingly become instruments of class repression, and in that respect take a particularly oppressive toll on women in America. And, as in every aspect of capitalist society, in which colonized blacks are the most exploited sector, black women are even doubly oppressed within these institutions. In ways more severe than other working-class women.

Five Areas of Oppression

We will try to outline briefly how militarization's growth amplifies the effects of existing male supremacy and oppresses women in the social service institutions and on the job.

1. At the point of production: When the men go off to fight for freedom (as more and more will, as imperialism is challenged around the world, American women must serve as a

1 in the aerospace and missile industry in Southern California, where women comprise over one-fourth of the assembly and small parts workers, on a lower wage scale than men holding the same jobs, and where the total number of employed women is rising steadily and has been for three years. At the same time, unemployment is holding steady in the population at large. This is because the military and the universities act as a sop to the extra unemployed men, and yet means that jobs are constantly being opened to women.

In addition to lower wages for women, the state cannot provide adequate day-care for young children, and therefore working women are forced to relinquish the raising of their children to sub-standard centers, or to pour out hard-earned money to pay baby-sitters. In either case, militarization here means that the mother's role of inculcating values in the child is supplanted by the imperialist state.

2. In the University: Three-fourths of all women college graduates who later become employed are going to be school teachers. Another ten per cent will be social workers of various kinds. This means that their college education is geared in the very specific ways to preparing them to be the primary indoctrinators of America's children. The ideology of imperialism, of anti-communism, of racism, is carefully taught us.

Idealistic young women, studying to be teachers or social workers, later find themselves serving not the poor by any means. They act as baby-sitting cops in the schools, often finding themselves the object of community hatred for reasons not always obvious to them. They find themselves running as the middle-man between the rulers and the poor, as the main administrators and

systematically excluded from welfare rolls. Women are sexually humiliated by being subjected to intimate investigations of their private lives in order to receive Aid to Dependent Children (A.D.C.). In California, women applying for A.D.C. are first given the "opportunity" to subject themselves to sterilization. All this machinery is an attempt on the part of the state to crush the spirit of the poor, and to reduce their potential for insurgency. All of this stringency about who may or may not receive welfare is due to the imperialist economy which will never be able to meet the needs of its people. Welfare even allows bosses to pay black women terribly low wages—far below what is needed to feed a family—in order for the families to remain on the rolls. So it supplies an additional source of cheap labor.

4. Health Care for Women: Nationally, next to care for the aged, maternity and gynecology departments and clinics of all public hospitals receive the lowest appropriations within all hospital budgets. Infant mortality in the U.S. is the eleventh highest in the world, and female deaths from septicemia following childbirth is 30% higher in the public hospitals (Cook County, L.A. County Ben!)—where only working class women have to go.

In a militarized society, care of women is just not the priority.

Hospitals: one of the main employers of women, the hospitals regiment, under-pay, and over-work thousands of women. In only a few hospitals in America are nurses unionized. Women are actually forbidden to organize themselves in many hospitals as a matter of policy.

Public Education: In this militarized society, the black and brown women sending their children to school

are at odds with the teachers and the administration of the school, but they can locate no redress of grievances against the school. Often, a mother finds that the school is even acting as a cop, turning her kid over to the police as a "disciplinary problem", taking away parental responsibilities, even with very young children.

In a male supremacist society, women are supposed to have primary responsibility for caring for the children. But as that society becomes increasingly more militarized, and oppressive, it usurps more and more of that role.

Young Girls Channeled

As the tracking system in the public schools serves the imperialists by churning young men into the army, it also channels young girls. It first of all treats them psychologically in such a way as to socialize them, instill in self-concept of inferiority, and accustom them to the idea of male supremacy so that they will later be able to accept it at the point of production. Secondly, in the vocational departments and the tracking system, it prepares girls for jobs they will never even be able to get, but supporting jobs which perpetuate male supremacy and the sexist ideology, i.e., beautician, secretarial workers, garment trades, and "home economics".

These are only a few examples of the ways in which working class women are affected by growing militarization. Their organizing potential lies in the fact that women can attack these institutions, rather than blindly attacking men as the enemy.

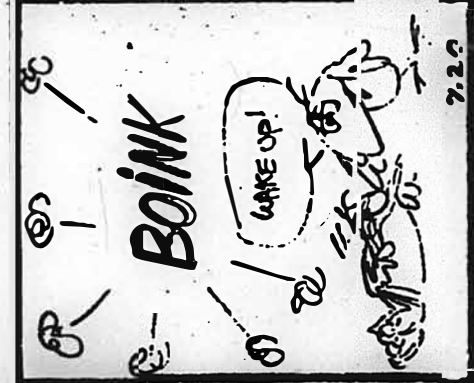
This does not mean that men do not oppress women, but rather that strong, organized attacks on the injustices of these institutions—trade unions and shops, schools and universities, welfare

reserve labor force which takes men's jobs—but at substantially lower wages, and with far less sophistication within the trade union hierarchy.

An example of the way unions are beginning to register their opposition to the job

case-workers in the welfare system. 3. Welfare: As an absolute rule, the welfare system is a means of class oppression. Inaugurated

women together in a class struggle against the capitalist system. And by the time the women will gain the nature of their oppression and exploitation.



Berkeley strike moves into third week

by Paul Giamatti
Liberation News Service

Berkeley (LNS)—The Third World strike on the Berkeley campus has gotten serious, going into its third week. In the wake of a day of battles between police and demonstrators, Governor Ronald Reagan declared the campus to be in a state of extreme emergency and sent in the state highway patrol.

Rallies are now forbidden on campus, and legislation is being drafted in Sacramento which would suspend any student or faculty member arrested on campus and make it a misdemeanor for a suspended or dismissed student to set foot on the campus of any state college or the University of California.

Tuesday's clashes began as strikers set up a stationary picket line at a campus entrance, as they had been doing for a week, and refused to let anyone pass through the line.

Some football players crashed through but were beaten severely by strikers—

placemen are presently hospitalized with severe head injuries.

County sheriffs, who had complained about not being given a free enough hand, were set loose on the crowd, clubs swinging. They rescued the placemen, but it was no match. They were beaten back by a barrage of rocks, bottles, and picket signs. Several more raids were made with similar results.

Reinforcements were called in and an illegal assembly was declared. Strikers responded by forming a large snaking picket line and moved through classroom buildings and the library, breaking windows, overturning ashtrays, and disrupting classes.

Police moved in and the line melted, so that strikers were indistinguishable from students who were just going to class or watching. The first rule of campus guerrilla warfare: never confront forces superior to your own. One squad of highway patrolmen got temporarily lost and had to consult

of them were reportedly policemen. The next few days police were on campus in overwhelming numbers and strike leaders made a point of not provoking incidents. On Friday, despite the immense occupation, strikers snaked a large picket line through several campus buildings.

It is questionable how successful the strike is at this point. Third World groups have made little progress in talks with the administration towards initiating an autonomous Third World college. The college would be an integral part of the University, open to all students. It would, however, be run by equal participation of students and faculty members. Third World people would have final say in setting up the college.

Chancellor Roger Heyns, while perhaps now ready to accept the Third World Department, is certainly not about to give in on the question of autonomy, and the faculty has been very cold to the strikers' demands.

Support for the strike has grown although 2,000 is still the highest number that can be mobilized. Much white support for the strike has been based on hatred of the police occupation and cannot be counted on as solidly pro-Third World.

San Francisco State College is closing down for semester break this week and about 50 veterans of that strike have been coming over daily to bolster the Berkeley line.

Striking Standard Oil workers in nearby Richmond have also expressed support for the student strike. Students from Berkeley have been welcomed by the workers in combatting scab goon squads who have been beating up the strikers there.

But there is still much question as to where the strike will go from here. Classroom attendance has not been affected too much. Unlike S.F. State, there is no organization of liberal faculty who will walk out in support. And, unlike State, there is no clear

NIC approves militarization program

David Millstone
Editor, New Left Notes

The National Interim Committee, after its board of discussion, decided to support a spring program around the militarization of American society, rather than approving one specific proposal for that program, the NIC issued several articles for future issues of New Left Notes discussing the program. (See Mike Klonsky's article on the Princeton conference elsewhere in this issue.)

In other actions, the NIC approved plans for sponsoring rallies with the Black Panther Party to commemorate Huey Newton's birthday and support of the black liberation struggle, approved a program to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8, and discussed security and defense specifically with regard to HUAC, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Chicago Grand Jury's investigation of August's demonstrations around the Democratic National Convention. Forty people attended the NIC meeting, held Feb. 8 and 9 in Madison, Wisconsin.

Militarization Discussions

A conference held March 1-4 in Feb. 2 and 3 discussed the proposals for spring programs around the military and militarization; the discussion at the NIC mirrored those at the Princeton conference. The direction finally approved grew from a paper printed Jan. 15 in New Left Notes, "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools." Many persons felt dissatisfied with the paper, and at Princeton, several revised versions were presented. One moved the discussion from the military in the United States to the militarization

part of a class conscious organizing program. And we can show how these areas affect black and brown youth especially hard.

SDS would also not focus on a white middle-class constituency in this organizing. The program would involve "going to the basement" of the high schools and talking to the kids not in college preparatory sections, in line with the direction outlined for SDS in the resolution passed at the December NC, "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement," which called for SDS to broaden its base to working-class youth especially.

The broader emphasis on militarization of society gives us a handle for doing anti-imperialist organizing. Domestic militarization is the ruling class's answer to the crisis facing imperialism around the world; militarization directly affects people in the United States. Using this approach, we can come on stronger than by simply declaring our solidarity with the NLF. We can show how imperialism oppresses working-class people at home, not simply those abroad. The original proposal for an attack just on the military was labelled as "student chauvinist."

Several persons felt the militarization idea didn't really speak to the question of waging a struggle against racism; it was pointed out that at San Francisco State, for example, this would be a step backward, although the proposal might be useful at San Francisco's white middle-class Lowell High. At State, declared one speaker, the only higher demand could be that the State must provide education for all who want it.

But others felt this objection was spurious. Racism is key in the militarization of society, they argued. Although it is often difficult to separate a class-conscious anti-racist struggle

Part of the difficulty in discussing an action was that there was no specific proposal before the group, and people found it difficult to discuss the question in the abstract. Finally, after several hours of discussion which got nowhere, a committee was named to investigate the problem: within two weeks, they will prepare a report outlining a proposed action and site, and the rationale for such an action. The NIC members will then decide what to do. People didn't want to wait until the spring NC before deciding; if a spring action is going to happen, we're going to have to lay the groundwork right away.

Meanwhile, the NO will prepare literature useful for organizing around those areas outlined by the proposal—ROTC, tracking system in the high schools, etc.—and will collect packets of relevant leaflets.

Rallies with Black Panthers

The NIC affirmed the decision to co-sponsor with the Black Panther Party rallies on Huey Newton's birthday, Feb. 17. (Newton is the Black Panther Minister of Defense, currently in jail.) As outlined in last week's New Left Notes, the rallies would stress the necessity and right of self-defense for the black colony and working class.

Where there's a local Black Panther organization, SDS chapters should work with them to sponsor the rallies, with joint speakers and films on other actions. On campuses, chapters are encouraged to work with BSU's, or if necessary to sponsor rallies alone. Future issues of NLN will carry information on how to obtain bulk copies of The Black Panther, the Panthers' newspaper, as well as Panther literature and posters. The NO will produce a poster and relevant literature which can be used

articles will discuss other aspects of defense and security. The NIC agreed that a security force should be established for the spring NC.

Two recent incidents were discussed. At a meeting at Columbia during Cuba Week, a guano woman was noticed, placed under observation, and then lost again. She re-appeared in the meeting and threw a hand-grenade on stage. The grenade failed to go off, which prevented injury to almost 100 persons.

While the NIC was meeting, the Radical Education Office in Ann Arbor was broken into, very professionally. (Radicals in Michigan are coming under increasing attack, as actions have grown more militant throughout the state.) A glass-cutter was used to enter the office, and the REP mailing list and contributors' list for the State of Michigan were taken. No money was taken.

It's important that movement people with offices set up night watches. You don't have to wait until they get your office before you follow minimum security procedures. Keep duplicates of all your lists in a safe place outside the office, so you won't be left stranded if they mysteriously disappear one day.

The NIC also discussed recording of meetings, and especially agreed that we've been too lenient in the recent past in allowing meetings to be tape-recorded (for example, both the NC and the Princeton conference were taped.) The usual argument, "Well, the cops will get tapes of what happens anyhow, no matter what we decide," is not a particularly strong one when we're facing the kind of repression which is starting to come down now.

Miscellaneous

The NIC asked NYN to collect material

This revised program included an attack on militarization in the schools, because people were talking about the "big university" and the of the original paper. In big cities especially, high school kids face incredible class oppression, because of the track system and the racist curriculum. Working-class youth—white, black, and brown—either drop out (and end up in the military) or are given a vocational diploma (which trains them for jobs which don't exist any more, which means they can't find jobs and end up in the military) or are given a general diploma (which is good for nothing besides entrance into the military). Who forces youth into the track system, the different kinds of diplomas, the college boards all these areas could be explained to high school youth as

enable us to link materially the anti - racist and anti - imperialist struggles. And the program should not be viewed as a totality, but rather as one part of our spring activity.

National Action?

The NIC split on whether to call for any kind of national action this spring or summer. Some felt it would be an important step for SDS to once again sponsor a national action; others pointed out that such action should only be seen as one small part of ongoing organizing, and that the action per se should not take up much of our energy. Discussion followed the pattern of the past several NCs, where proposals for a national action in Washington (on election day or at the inauguration) were debated and eventually defeated.

International Women's Day

The NIC called for celebration in public meetings of International Women's Day, March 8. The day started in 1908, when women on the Lower East Side went on strike demanding the vote, an end to sweatshop conditions at work, and an end to child labor. Two years later, the Second International declared it a holiday.

Articles in New Left Notes will describe actions chapters can perform, as well as lay out the history of the women's struggle. Plans call for a special issue of NLN around that date, and new literature.

Defense and Security

A separate article this issue discusses the Chicago Grand Jury's future

which will discuss the trips from the point of view of what happened to the SDS people who went on the trips, not another article generally discussing Cuba. There's a possibility of another Cuba trip this summer, consisting of one month work in the sugar fields and one month travel. Details will be worked out later.

SDS will sponsor a speaking trip by Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of German SDS. Chapters interested should contact the NO. This will be late February and early March. The NIC re-affirmed the decision of the national office staff not to re-hire one member of the print shop. The site of the spring NC is still uncertain, though there are several possibilities in Texas.

Articles in future issues of NLN will deal with problems discussed at length at the NIC.

WE'RE BROKE--

SEND

MONEY

The National Office now has around \$600 in the bank. The bills we have to pay total more than \$2000. We're going deeper in debt with each new campus revolt—people take buttons, lit, and bulk NLN and don't pay for them. The situation is desperate. Send the NO some money immediately—you're the only people we can count on.

\$\$\$\$\$\$

Workers yes, bosses no, rehire Felipe, goons must go!

by Ira Perelson
N.Y. SDS LABOR PROJECT
Brooklyn College, SDS, PL

On Thursday, Jan. 2, the workers of Figure Flattery began a work slowdown. Figure Flattery is one of NY's largest garment sweatshops, employing up to 900 workers in the busy season. It is owned by Kayser-Roth, a multi-billion dollar international corporation that exploits workers around the world. The cause of the slowdown was the firing of Felipe DeJesus, Marxist-Leninist shop steward and leader of the rank-and-file Workers Action Committee, who had led a wildcat strike in August against the bosses, the sell-out leadership of the ILGWU (garment workers' union) and the cops. (See Dennis Kambury's article in the Work-In pamphlet; also the September Challenge.)

Beginning that afternoon and continuing for a week, hundreds of students and workers (including teachers, women workers, garment workers, etc.) maintained a picket line supporting the slowdown and demanding Felipe's rehiring. We maintained the line in the face of intimidation and physical attacks by hired goons. During the week, workers and students learned many lessons about the nature of the bourgeois state: the role of the cops and goons; how racism, anti-communism and male chauvinism are used to split the workers.

Garment Industry is Key

The garment industry is N.Y.C.'s

In the nine-day August strike, the workers wildcatted, attacking the miserable wages and working conditions imposed on them and agreed to by the sellout leaders of ILGWU Local 32. The issue finally boiled down to giving in to some of the workers' demands, but refusing to re-hire DeJesus. The workers stayed out until the boss was forced to hire him back.

This wildcat was a successful one in a number of ways. First, the unity of the workers was combatting racism by defeating the boss's attempt to split the black and Latin workers. The workers fought male chauvinism and the abuses against women workers through the militant leadership role women played in the struggle. In fact, many militant women were among the first to be laid off as the slow season began. This weakened the workers considerably.

Fight Anti-Communism

The workers also fought against anti-communism by rejecting attempts to split the open communist leadership from the rank and file. This is the first time that workers' struggles in the garment center have been led by open communists. Anti-communism has been used in both the August wildcat and the January slowdown. DeJesus has been red-baited in the Daily News, El Tiempo, and Justice (ILG leadership's newspaper) as the worst kind of communist—a Peking-oriented Pler. In the January slowdown the boss told the workers that the student supporters were white outcasters and communists. The workers haven't bought any of this crap. The wildcat at Figure Flattery was,

outside support, specifically the New York SDS Labor Project (not to be confused with the disbanded "Labor Committee").

The students responded to the workers' call, knowing that the same bosses that own businesses like Kayser-Roth run our universities. The garment workers fight the same system of capitalist exploitation, racism, and imperialism that we students fight on campus.

Here Come the Goons

During the week the bosses' goons used increasing force in their attempt to break up the support line. On Monday afternoon, the goons who had threatened DeJesus the week before cornered him and three others. They threatened Felipe, punched him, and warned the students that heads would be broken if they were seen on the line Tuesday.

In spite of the threats, students and workers brought over 150 people to picket Tuesday and Wednesday morning. On Tuesday afternoon, the boss sent out his goons to break the line, but the students held firm. On Wednesday morning, we discovered one of the goons among a crowd of the picketers. Apparently the cops had their signals crossed, because they began to chase the goon away. The goon fumbled in his pocket for identification, which was knocked to the ground. The goon's identification showed him to be a cop from BOSS (Bureau of Special Services, N.Y.C. red-squad).

Marcher Arrested, Released

The following day, Thursday, the lines increased in size to over 200 people. We marched together in a chanting: Obsolete, all Patronage, and Workers yes! Bosses no! Rehiring Felipe, goons must go! The goons, afraid to attack the large group of workers and students, kept out of sight.

On Friday afternoon, the goons reappeared in force. Bosses, goons and cops joined near the plant entrance. When the picketing ended, we marched down 15th Street, the goons hurling bottles and sticks from across the street. A number of fights broke out and some marchers were knocked down. One goon, bleeding from forehead and nose, yelled at the cops to arrest one of the students. A squad of cops walked into the crowd to arrest a student from Columbia, but were turned back.

Students' Role

We had declared our intention of maintaining a support picket line morning and afternoon every day until Friday. The students and workers on the line fought back with determination because we were fighting a common enemy. We saw support of the garment workers' daily struggle against the bosses as part of our struggle against the whole racist-imperialist system.

Students are playing an important role in the garment workers' struggles, both by supporting strikes and by raising broader political issues among the workers. An example of this is the leaflet put out by the N.Y. SDS Summer

key production of the industry. The super-exploitation of the 400,000 workers, mainly black and Latin, is the source of millions of dollars for the garment bosses. Till also holds down the wages of the more skilled white workers. The garment workers' union, ILGWU, is one of the nation's largest and richest unions. It plays a major role in Democratic Party politics. The workers themselves are split up in many shops, which makes it difficult to unite. Many workers are not in the union. In some shops the union representative tells the workers to ask the boss if they can join the union. The bosses make use of the splits between unionized and non-unionized workers, as they do between black, Latin, and white, women and men, etc. Up to now, the union misleaders and bosses have made powerful use of these difficult conditions, and have had free rein to keep the workers down.

widely known in the garment world and became a symbol of struggle. Since August, the bosses and ILG leaders have been trying to smash this rank and file movement. The bosses carried out a campaign of harassment against Deleus and other militants. Workers were laid off as the busy season departed, and many were forced to leave the plant. Deleus, as shop steward, was constantly prevented from carrying out his duties, especially as the presentation of grievances concerning the numerous violations of the August agreement. The boss waited until January—the slack time in garment—with only one-third of the workers on the job—to make his move. Finally, on Jan. 2, he was threatened by goons in the bosses' office, and an incident was provoked. He was immediately fired and arrested for felonious assault. In support of Deleus, the workers called a slowdown and called for

Wednesday afternoon, the picketers were again attacked by goons, while cops stood by as "protection." Later, as we marched down 15th Street, a dozen thugs, some armed with wooden boards and lead pipes, jumped from behind a truck and attacked the head of the line. The support marchers—students and workers—counterattacked the goons, throwing a number to the ground, beating and kicking a couple severely. Women participated in the battle, taunting and courageously confronting the goons. The cops reappeared, clubs drawn, walked right past the goon leader, who was brandishing a wooden board, and began pulling us off the goons we had downed. No attempt was made to arrest the goons, but one of the marchers was arrested. We decided to march to the 10th Precinct and demand his release. An angry crowd of 100 succeeded in freeing him.

Colaboring with the police, the goons arrested the head of the line, which was a black man, about 16 years old. The goons gave out thousands of leaflets and raising anti-imperialist consciousness.

Strike Coming?

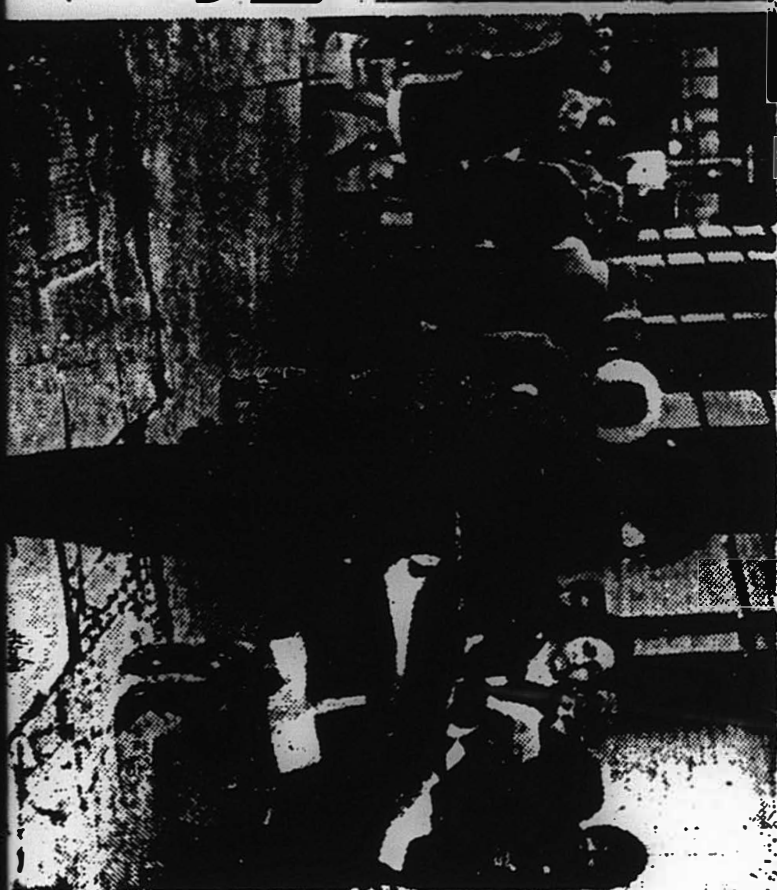
At this point it is still uncertain whether the slowdown will escalate into a strike. Since the qualitative—not the quantitative—was the factor in the struggle was this and development, and secondarily, the very important, outside support, we could not substitute the militancy of the students and supporters for the need for militancy inside the shop to escalate into a strike.

Whether or not the workers at Figure Factory are successful in winning back Felipe Deleus's job, the struggle to build a rank and file movement among garment workers will continue. This struggle will be a long and violent one with the bosses using all the weapons at their disposal to divide and intimidate the workers—anti-communism, racism, male chauvinism, police violence.

Beginning of Solidarity

What the bosses fear is that the struggle of Figure Factory—militant struggle with militant leadership—will spread throughout the garment center. They fear the beginnings of a worker-student alliance that brings outside support from high school and university students. They fear that workers in different shops will begin to get together and support each other's struggles—the beginning of this can be seen at Figure Factory. It is the beginning of this movement that has brought the violent response of the bosses—out of proportion to the size of the struggle. At this point victory

STOP
BOSS
HARRASSMENT
REHIRE



Beyond youth culture

the Waukegan movement

by Bill Drew and Mike Rosen

(This is a shortened version of a pamphlet published by the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, 217 South Hamilton Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53705.)

"OK, man—we're here—now what do we do?"
Talk to people about which ministers were
handouts and how. These socialists, which
were into God, and which were mostly interested in
their mortgages. Find out which Black organizations
had a base in the Black community, and what each
group was thinking about integration versus Black
separatism. Learn local history: urban renewal,
Black rebellions, and Birch activity. Learn the
streets, the neighborhoods, and what kinds of people
lived in them. Learn the names of the big three:
shoot-to-kill mayor, conservative owner of local
press and radio station, banker who controls local
financial decisions. Sit in libraries doing power
structure research. This is—Abbot Laboratories.
Copy the socialist press: Mondy's Industrials.
Population 75,000, 6,000 Puerto Rican,
3,000 Mexican.

"Waukegan, county seat, commercial center of
Lake County, major industries onboard motors,
construction materials, steel wire, pharmaceuticals."
"Man, this talking to ministers and ranch housewives
is a drag. Let's walk around and find out where
people's heads are at."

Picking up hitch-hikers.

"Where you going?"

"Beach."

"What happens down there?"

"Nothing."

"Then why go?"



David Ferrelis Ltd.

Organizing took the form of having discussions
and beginning to assert ourselves as community
people with rights like anyone else. After being
arrested for leafletting we weren't sure just what
we could do together. When trying to sell a Wisconsin
high school underground paper, five of us were
arrested on disorderly conduct, and one of us was
charged with a phony assault on an officer. We then
organized and pulled off a mass leafletting. The
leaflet blasted the town and the mayor. We did it
with 50 people, proving the power of collective
action. We even put out our own paper, probably
one of the toughest high school papers ever printed.
We distributed them guerrilla style. We'd go to a
dance with about ten guys each with ten copies of
"Fresh Air" under their shirts. We'd gather in the
middle of the crowd, give a signal, and go in all
directions giving our papers away. By the time the
cops could get to the scene we'd all be clean and
everybody would be reading a copy. We did have
some pretty close calls though.

The biggest problem we had was that we really
didn't have a way to get kids out of the army, we
really couldn't insure them an interesting job, or

really do that much about police harassment. They
were attracted to us because we were against the
controls that they were against. But they were so
frustrated and hopeless that they sometimes reverted
to a desperate identification with the cops, the army,
and the mythology of capitalism.

Resentment of authority is strong and shows up
in music, dress, drugs, and other aspects of youth
culture. We tried not to get hung up in this type of
anti-authoritarian life style. Because style is really
only another word for form. And form is important
only for the content which it conveys. Hippie styles,
far from showing that people should not get hung up
with empty form, tend to become an added market
based on needless consumption. Drugs, when they
become a major emphasis, provide individualistic
types of escape and draw people from the arena of
social consciousness and collective struggle. Music
too contains a contradiction, because the kids pay
\$3.77 to hear the Rascals sing "people everywhere
just got to be free."

The most popular movie this summer in Waukegan
was "Wild in the Streets". In the movie Max Frost,
the leader of a rock group, campaigns for president
and succeeds by getting the voting age lowered to 14
and by contaminating the water supply of U.S. cities
with acid on election day. The new regime's major
policy change is to put everyone over 35 in
concentration camps and turn them on. The
implications for us were that latent in the youth
revolt is a fascist self-seeking potential. If the
needs of this constituency can be appeased
superficially in a manner defined by capitalism,
the revolutionary potential of youth will be aborted.

But once people attain a strong sense of their own
history and direction as a group, they can begin to
form honest alliances with other groups—the Blacks
for instance. This is an essential stage in the
development of a revolutionary movement. We began
to establish only tentative links with the local Black
movement. Almost every discussion at our "free
high school" eventually got to racism. The white kids
have resentments not because they think the Blacks
are inferior, but because the Blacks are better
organized and better able to respond to the
harassment from school administrators and police.

Questions More Basic than Style

...here else to go?

"You in school?"

"Yeah, but I'll be 18 next summer."

"What do you think about the draft?"

"Sucks."

"We're in the Wisconsin Youth Resistance Union and we'd like to get some anti-draft stuff going here this summer. Think people will dig us?"

"Maybe."

One telephone call.

"Hey listen, we were arrested for leafleting. Advertising our draft information center. You remember that 'Uncle Sam Is Aiming To Get You' thing I showed you. You suppose you could come down here and bail us out? It's only \$25."

"At the Belvidere shopping center. Really blows my mind. That cop keeps rubbing his billy club like he's getting sexual pleasure out of it."

"OK, thanks a lot."

The repression had struck in the form of condemnatory editorials, the court case, and losing our living quarters. Also most of the kids who were helping us then were put on restriction by their parents. We felt that our organizing was at an end, but we were soon to find that this was only the beginning.

Anti-Authoritarianism Everywhere

Everywhere we went we found anti-authoritarianism. People began to identify with us because they hated the draft and had also been arrested by the cops usually for stupid reasons.

We had proved the generalization about New Left politics which says that in a confrontation situation, i.e. the two arrest scenes, if the organizers are not overwhelmed by the initial repression, the polarization is beneficial because it brings to the surface latent tensions. By following up the initial impact with clear positions which speak to the needs of numbers of people, organizers force people to identify with one of the poles. Faced with the vitality of the New Left on the one hand and the staidness of the defenders of the status quo on the other, young people generally take and defend a radical position. When we were arrested a second time in front of 300 kids, the polarization against the cops almost resulted in a riot. The vehemently anti-cop crowd began yelling "Freedom! Police brutality!"

We made a lot of allies among the alienated white working kids. They're the kind who between four guys can finish a case of quarts in a night. They are a mixture of high-schoolers and drop-outs. Sometimes employed, sometimes not. They seem to half-realize their lives do not have to be carbon copies of their parents', that things are changing. But they are



We tried to keep the movement in relationship to the high schools, colleges, and the factories were essentially the same for both races. We argued that the administrators effectively divided the races by showing preferential treatment to one or the other race with respect to particular regulations. Talks about the history of the labor movement and the current situation in housing were also helpful in showing how those who control society must keep the races deluded into thinking that there is only a limited amount of freedom and that if one wants more he has to take it from someone else.

The experience of the campus movement had given us an appreciation of organizing people in other than class groupings. We began to call dorm students, history students, and cafeteria workers constitutions. That is, they related to the same institution in the same way. In Waukegan, while recognizing the necessity of beginning on a constituency basis (working class youth relating to the police in the same way), at the same time we realized how embryonic this step is and how larger groupings must be made to realize similar interests and act as a movement.

The major conclusion is that anti-authoritarian life style organizing in this constituency is only a beginning. Today the movement continues only in the high school. Most of the young factory workers have returned to their jobs, accepting their roles. The movement must expand into armed forces organizing, junior and trade colleges, and the insurgent rank and file labor movement. The left must begin to offer solutions to questions more basic than those of style. Control is weakest in the leisure or conservative sector of a young person's life. Therefore it is appropriate to begin there. But unless radicalism can deal with the other half, his productive life in the factory or school, it is a lie and offers no real possibility for a working class youth to live as a radical.

We found the vague rhetoric of the student movement not wholly applicable to these young people. We could not easily include them in a "new working class" nor could we talk about a post-scarcity society as a major motivating factor. Instead, we began to help people critically and collectively understand their own positions in society. We had to fight the blurring of class lines which often occurs in youth culture. Only when we had done this could we talk about forming alliances in the midst of struggle. From our success in turning white working kids on to the movement we are convinced that social analyses which emphasize revolutionary potential in only one sector of society are inadequate. Perhaps

Princeton meeting attacks militarization



Original program on "military" broadened to "militarization." Approved proposal calls for attacks on racism in unity with the black liberation struggle, on domestic imperialism, on the tracking system in high schools.

by Michael Kramsky
SDS National Secretary

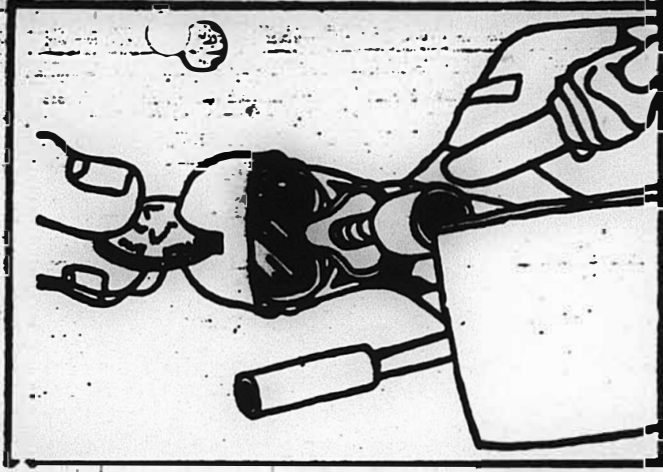
A program calling for a concentrated attack this spring on "militarization of the society" and its use as a class weapon was passed by a meeting of 250 SDSers at Princeton University on Feb. 1-2.

The Princeton proposal called for nation-wide attacks on the "ever-increasing state of permanent militarization in the country" which is a result of the growing crisis in world imperialism.

Singleed out as organizing focuses were ROTC, military recruitment, the high school tracking system, the police in the black ghetto, and the role of the university in imperialism.

Three Basic Positions

The floor debate and discussion revolved around three basic positions. One, based on the original "military package", called "Smash the Military in the Schools" (NLN, Jan. 15, p. 8), was presented by Lew Cole from



as a phenomenon which affects the society in a class way, that is by hitting harder on the working class and especially on blacks. It called for an attack on "domestic imperialism" and the class nature of the courts, the police, police institutes, cops in the schools and "the socialization which lays the ideological basis" for class oppression. It also called for an attack on racism in unity with the black liberation struggle and the Black Panther Party. It challenged the student-worker-alliance position on racism, saying:

"The danger in our program against racism, whether it takes the form of fights for black admissions, against university expansion, or for black studies programs, is that it doesn't always raise anti-imperialist consciousness, challenge anti-communism and the antagonism against the international proletariat."

Both groups saw a program against militarization, as one which could help link up the anti-racism struggles with an international anti-imperialist



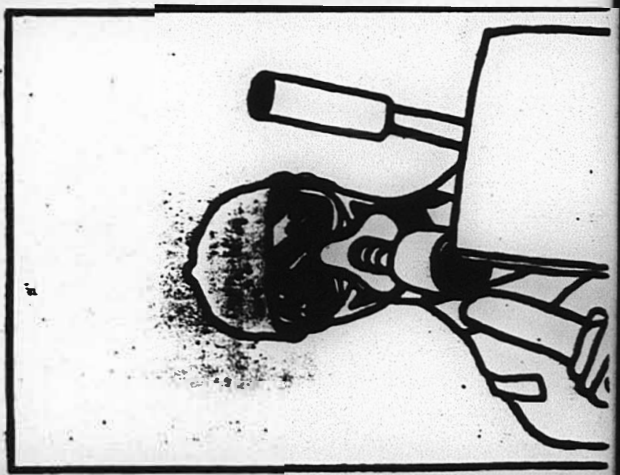


was presented by Low Cole from Columbia University. The second position, which was drafted into the conference, was presented by Les Coleman from the Chicago Region and called for a broadening of the attack to include the concept of "militarization" instead of just the military. This was based on the Revolutionary Youth Movement proposal from the December NC. The third position, centering on PL and the student-worker alliance position, stood firmly opposed to any program which saw militarization as a focus for the spring on the grounds that such a program would compete with SDS's program against racism.

Support of the NLF

The first "military package" paper was based on a position which said that the re-injection of the war as an issue under "an anti-imperialist banner" will help build the consciousness needed for a movement for "real power" is to come about. While attacking student-power tendencies, it was not clear about which class in America would be the agency of revolution. Many people thought that its narrow perspective on the military was designed primarily for the big, "elite" campuses like Columbia, rather than working-class schools or high schools. Others felt that the criteria of "support of the NLF" as a basis for revolutionary consciousness did not deal with the class struggle within the United States and the effects of imperialism on the American working class.

The second paper on militarization attempted to deal with those problems. It described the role which a youth movement could play as a critical force in taking its perspective on the growing domestic effects of the crisis in imperialism to young workers and other students. It described "militarization"



an international and -imperialist perspective.

Attack Tracking System

Both papers also called for attacks on the class and racist nature of the high school tracking system which serves as a "draft board in the schools" funneling working-class youth into the army and low-paying jobs, while middle class students go into the university. Positions in the lower tracks are mostly filled by black and Spanish-speaking youth. By attacking the tracking system in a class-conscious way, high school students could organize into an explicitly anti-imperialist movement.

PL was heavily criticized for its position on racism and especially on nationalism. A PL member from Boston denied the existence of a black culture or a dominant white culture, saying that black people are merely super-exploited workers and suffer no colonial oppression.

The writers of the "military package" accepted Coleman's paper as an expression of the correct analysis of a program for the spring, and the two papers were voted on as one by the body, passing by a wide margin. Many people were critical of the fact that differences between the two positions were not more clearly defined in the floor debate. Furthermore, many of the tactical questions were not resolved. Aspects of the program, such as a national action of some sort, were not decided on at the conference and will be presented at the NC in March.

Many went back to their chapters with the skeleton of a program to organize around. Most people felt, however, that this was the basis of future programmatic developments which might have been prevented had the program been defeated.

MILITARIZATION AND WOMEN: For the text of one supplementary paper presented at the Princeton conference, see page 8.

100-439048-2583, 2584

CHANGED TO

100-439048-232-27, 28

MAR 26 1969

mt/Bau

Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 3/4/69

FROM: G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE (NYA)
 RACIAL MATTERS - WHITE HATE GROUPS

This is to advise of allegations made that captioned group, a newly formed anticommunist organization, will use violence, if necessary, to combat disruptions on college campuses and to advise that this matter will be followed closely.

BACKGROUND:

We have received information that the NYA, whose headquarters are in Washington, D. C., was recently formed by youthful conservatives as an aftermath of the George Wallace Presidential campaign and looking toward the backing of a conservative candidate in 1972. At a recent meeting of this group in New York, the aims and purposes were stated as "the opposing of the use of drugs on college campuses; the neutralization of black power; the preserving of western civilization and the expulsion of communists from college campuses."

[redacted] said it was stated that the NYA would use violent means to combat the organization known as Students for a Democratic Society if college officials failed to do so.

[redacted] and believes that if violence takes place it will be by individual members and not at the direction of organization leaders.

In view of the possibility that violence could take place as a result of the activities of this organization, instructions are being furnished pertinent offices to discreetly follow the activities of the group until this matter is resolved. Based on available information, Bureau indices fail to disclose that any of the national officers are members of known white hate groups. Information developed is being furnished pertinent military agencies, Secret Service, the Civil Rights Division, Criminal Division and Internal Security Division of the Department.

ACTION:

None. For information.

53 APR 11 1969

NOT RECORDED
184 MAR 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE 3/10/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/14-3/4/69
TITLE OF CASE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED meb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-SDS; SEDITION	[REDACTED] b7C

REFERENCE: Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 12/10/68 at Chicago.

- P* -

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities of SDS Chapter, Chicago Division, in 90 days.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations were not set forth were checked through the Chicago FBI Office indices and this check was negative or sufficient identifying data was not available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

For the information of the Bureau, this case is now being handled out of Chicago file 100-47094, captioned STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, CHICAGO REGION. Case was previously handled out of Chicago file 100-40903 captioned STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-1137048-258-5 **REC-51**

MAR 12 1969

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CG 100-47094

This report was classified ~~confidential~~ in view of the information furnished by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who are sources of continuing value and their identification could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S. b7d

Copies of this report are being furnished to 113th MI Group, Evanston, NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

All individuals mentioned in this report as either being officers, leaders or activists with SDS, Chicago Division, are on one of the indexes of the Chicago Office or are presently under active investigation to determine if they qualify for inclusion on one of the indexes.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b1

- B -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1-113th MI Group, Region I, Evanston (Via courier)
1-OSI, Chicago (Via courier)
1-NISO, Chicago (Via courier)

Copy to:

SA [REDACTED] b7C
March 10, 1969

Office: CHICAGO

Date:

Field Office File #: 100-47094

Bureau File #: 100-439048

Info:

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS;
SEDITION

Synopsis:

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Chapters are located at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois; Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois; and in Chicago at Loyola University, Roosevelt University, Illinois Institute of Technology, University of Chicago, University of Illinois Circle Campus, and Northeastern Illinois State College. There is also a SDS Chicago Region Office located at 162 North Clinton Street, Chicago. Officers, leaders, membership and activities of these chapters are set forth.

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
1/14/82 SSM/RGJ/SCJ 1/13/78

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CG 100-47094

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The following organizations mentioned in this report have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and are characterized in the attached appendix section:

Progressive Labor Party
Students for a Democratic Society
W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America
W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Chicago
Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago
Young Socialist Alliance

I. NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
(NU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

The "Daily Northwestern," the daily student publication at NU, dated December 2, 1968, included an article captioned "Disenchanted SDS Members Restructure Group Elect Rice." Therein was set forth several aims of the chapter, which included the following:

Eliminate the previously established central coordinating committee and all standing committees,
Sponsor a "teach in" around the end of January, 1969, concerning the Vietnam war,
Establishment of a group to study the NROTC program,

Establishment of a group to study the use of grades and work toward their abolishment,

Establishment of a committee to plan demonstrations against organizations such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Dow Chemical Company, and military service branches who recruit on campus,

Establishment of a group to sell SDS and other radical literature in the "Grill," the student lunch counter, for purposes of information and recruitment.

3. Activities

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

The SDS NU Chapter on January 16, 1969, sponsored a teach in on "The War is Over--What Now?". About 250 students attended including JOE HORTON of SDS. Among participants were members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The gathering did not endorse any proposals for actions on the war or any other political issue..

[REDACTED] b1

The SDS NU Chapter on February 25, 1969, sponsored a demonstration against Dow Chemical Company recruiters who were conducting interviews at the Student Placement Center (SPC) on the NU campus. The demonstration began with 15 SDS members at the SPC but attracted approximately 300 persons by early afternoon.

[REDACTED] b1

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There were six arrests for disorderly conduct made by the Evanston, Illinois Police Department in connection with a SDS demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company on February 25, 1969, on the NU campus. The only known SDS member arrested was STEVE LUBET, former president of NU SDS. The demonstration ended at 2:30 PM, at which time some ten persons entered the office of ROLAND HINZ, Vice President and Dean of Students at NU, to protest the arrests made earlier in the day. HINZ gave the students permission to stay in Scott Hall during the night of February 25-26, 1969, and approximately 100 persons participated. The students left the building prior to 8:00 AM February 26, 1969.

[REDACTED] b1

II. LAKE FOREST COLLEGE (LFC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

The LFC SDS Chapter has about 18 members. Leaders of the group are JAY EISENBERG and JONATHAN ROSE. } 111

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

The LFC SDS Chapter appears to have as its central purpose opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam and to the Selective Service System.

[REDACTED] b1

3. Activities

There has been no SDS activity at LFC during the period [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

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III. NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
(NIU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

STEVE FRANK is President of the NIU SDS Chapter.

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

The general aim of the NIU SDS is to oppose the draft and the Vietnam war and to change various university policies.

[REDACTED] b1

3. General Activities

A meeting was held on the evening of February 23, 1969, at 330 College Street, DeKalb, Illinois, attended by 60 NIU students representing a conglomeration of New Left groups. STEVE FRANK, NIU SDS President, attended. Discussion was held concerning the picketing of the NIU Student Center on February 24, 1969, to protest the decision not to rehire PETER ROMAN, a Political Science instructor. ROMAN has served as faculty advisor for the NIU SDS Chapter.

At the meeting it was decided that the group would enter Watson-Reavis Lecture Hall at NIU to disrupt classes and give speeches protesting ROMAN's dismissal. A tentative plan called for a seizure of part of the Political Science Department located at Watson-Reavis Lecture Hall on February 26, 1969.

[REDACTED] b1

On February 24, 1969, 25 persons including STEVE FRANK, NIU SDS President, picketed the NIU Student Center protesting Professor PETER ROMAN's dismissal. The group then marched to the Political Science Department and argued with Dean DANIEL WITT, Department head. Some sat down in the department area while the argument continued and following its conclusion they left the hall.

[REDACTED] b1

- 8 -

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On February 25, 1969, 30 students including STEVE FRANK entered Watson-Reavis Lecture Hall at 11:35 AM and disrupted classes by shouting "We want Roman." Several classes were dismissed as a result of these disruptions.

[REDACTED] b1

On February 26, 1969, at 1:00 PM a meeting was held at Sandburg Hall, NIU, and 350 persons attended. The purpose was to discuss the pending release of PETER ROMAN, previously mentioned. Dr. MARVIN ROSIN of the NIU History Department presided. STEVE FRANK was among the student speakers. He appealed to the group to seize a building on campus. There was no response to his pleas and shortly thereafter the meeting broke up.

[REDACTED] b1

IV. LOYOLA UNIVERSITY (LU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

The aims of the LU SDS Chapter continue to be to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political and social organization.

[REDACTED] b1

3. Activities

The LU SDS and YSA co-sponsored a speech by YSA member ROBIN WALSEL on the evening of February 20, 1969, at Pinegan Hall, Lake Shore campus, LU.

[REDACTED] b1

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ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
(RU) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] 1LL
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b1

MIKE DAVIDSON

DAVIDSON as [REDACTED] was a member of the
W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of Chicago.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b1

BERNIE FARBER

FARBER attended an Illinois CP Youth School
during August, 1965.

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED]

2. Aims and Purposes

General aims of the RU SDS Chapter are as follows:

1. Urge the end of the Vietnam war.
 2. Stop the drafting of all American youths.
 3. End racism in the U.S.
 4. Obtain changes in the present RU curriculum.
- [REDACTED] b1

At a meeting of the RU SDS Chapter on January 13, 1969, the following five-point program was presented:

1. Program aimed at exposing, confronting and harassing police education.
 2. Future teachers group: group of people who expect to teach in high schools and junior colleges should be pulled together and maintained.
 3. Critical university: there are already people working on this program and making course critiques, forcing classroom confrontations, challenging in every possible way the function of the courses.
 4. An education committee.
 5. Setting up a literature table.
- [REDACTED] b1 75

3. General Activities

The RU SDS Chapter has been ineffective in trying to organize any type of a program during the past few months.

[REDACTED] b1

VI. ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (IIT) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

The following persons are the officers of the IIT SDS Chapter:

President - WALTER RACZINSKI
Vice President - CHARLES WETZEL
Secretary - BERN HARRISON
Public Relations - MICHAEL WILL

ILL

2. Aims and Purposes

The aims and purposes of the IIT SDS Chapter are to advance socialism and disrupt the capitalistic structure of the U.S. The chapter will involve itself in anything relating to anti-Vietnam or peace issues.

3. General Activities

Occasionally the chapter will sponsor a movie.

VII. UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
(UC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Aims and Purposes

The UC SDS has no elected officers. There are about 35 to 40 members who are considered active members of the chapter. Leadership in the chapter comes from these members:

HOWIE WACHTINGER
ROBERT SALASIN
STEVE KINDRED

CHRIS HOBSON
SALLY VAGOL
DAN FRIEDLANDER

ILL

DAN FRIEDLANDER

As of January 19, 1969, FRIEDLANDER was a member of the Illinois CP.

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

Efforts of the SDS at UC are directed towards a program which opposes the draft and the war in Vietnam and take the form of exposing the university's link with industry in the form of grants from various foundations. The UC SDS also tries to point out the UC's complicity with the military in furnishing pertinent information concerning students' academic rank. The chapter has also attempted to show the connections between the school's Board of Trustees and their status in industry.

[REDACTED] b1

3. General Activities

The Committee of 85, an ad hoc coalition of student groups at the UC, conducted a sit in at the UC from January 30 through February 14, 1969. Among their demands was that the contract of sociology Professor Mrs. MARLENE DIXON be extended. BOB ROSS, a former vice president of the SDS, conducted a meeting on January 29, 1969, at which various forms of militant action against the university were discussed. At this meeting a decision was made to initiate a sit in of the university's Administration Building for an indefinite period. Leaders of the sit included UC SDS members HOWIE MACHTINGER, MIKE GOLDFIELD, CHRIS HOBSON, SALLY YAGOL and PAUL BARON. Also involved was LEE COLEMAN of the SDS Regional Office.

[REDACTED]

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At a closing rally of the sit in group at the Administration Building on February 14, 1969, ~~OWIE~~ ~~WACHTINGER~~, SDS member, spoke and said the sit in was a defeat for the students.

[REDACTED] b1

VIII. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS (UICC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

STU SMITH is the leader of the UICC SDS.

[REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

A meeting of the UICC SDS Chapter was held on [REDACTED]. The major portion of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of a proposed program for adoption by the UICC SDS. The program included the following points:

1. No rise in tuition.
 2. Establishment of a working class studies department in which degrees will be given.
 3. Open admissions for all black and Third World students who apply. A minimum of two-thirds entering freshmen should be black or Third World.
 4. No expansion unless low rent, quality housing is built to replace what is torn down.
 5. Get the cop-training institute off the campus.
 6. Get ROTC off the campus.
 7. The university should provide a free day care center for employees, students and faculty.
- [REDACTED] b1

CG 100-47094

3. General Activities

The SDS at UICC has had no public programs in [REDACTED] b1

IX. NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS STATE
COLLEGE (NISC) SDS CHAPTER

1. Officers and Membership

CONRAD B. ~~PITCHER~~ and CHRISTOPHER J. ~~SMOLKA~~ are ILL. leading SDS members at NISC. There are no elected officers. [REDACTED] b1

2. Aims and Purposes

The main purpose of the NISC SDS is to obtain more student influence and voice in all school policies of the NISC administration. [REDACTED] b1

3. General Activities

NISC SDS meetings are held on campus approximately once a week. There has been no disruptive activity by the SDS during the period [REDACTED] b1

X. CHICAGO SDS REGIONAL

1. Officers and Membership

The Chicago Region Office of the SDS is located at 162 North Clinton Street, Room 204. LES COLEMAN is full-time SDS Regional Coordinator. [REDACTED] b1

CG 100-47094

2. Aims and Purposes

The purpose of the Chicago SDS Regional Office is to coordinate SDS activity in Chicago and vicinity.

[REDACTED] b1

The Chicago SDS Region has been ineffective in its attempt to coordinate SDS activity in the Chicago area.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1

XI. HANK WILLIAMS CHAPTER

The Hank Williams Chapter of SDS has been dissolved and those persons who formerly constituted its membership have scattered to various areas of Chicago and other cities.

[REDACTED] b1

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

The "New York Times" city edition Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP, which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's overall revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention Milton Rosen was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and Levi Laub, Fred Jerome, Jared Israel, William Epton, Jacob Rosen, Jeffrey Gordon and Walter Linder were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The August, 1968, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "above all, this paper is dedicated to the fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire Government on every level."

The source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

[REDACTED]

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner continues in his position as Chairman of the DCA.

This fourth source also advised on July 26, 1968, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

This fourth source further advised on July 26, 1968, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on April 17, 1968, that the DCC Organizing Committee, which was set up by the DCA to further DCA activities in the Chicago area, is dormant. GERALD KIRK, who is a member of the Communist Party of Illinois and the coordinator of DCC activities, is the only officer and member. At this time the DCC has no aims or purposes and does not maintain a headquarters.

The second source advised there are no other DCC clubs in the area and that during the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in April, 1968, the YSA-C was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of April, 1968, were current members of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The National Headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

On October 31, 1967, a second source advised that at the 22nd National Convention of the SWP held in New York City from October 26, 1967, to October 29, 1967, it was stated that the YSA remained as the main recruiting ground for new SWP members.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

CG 100-47094

March 10, 1969

Title

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY, CHICAGO DIVISION

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS; SEDITION

Reference

IS MADE TO REPORT OF SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] DATED AND CAPTIONED
AS ABOVE AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

March 6, 1969

Mr. Eartha D. DeLoach
Assistant Director
Crime Records Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Deke,

Last week you were kind enough to forward some material to me on the S.D.S. and related activities, which was quite helpful. I forwarded this to the Intelligence Squad of the Columbus Police Department, as they are vitally concerned with the activities in the Ohio State University area.

Meanwhile, I have received a letter from a lady trying to put together a P.T.A. program, and she specifically asks for helpful information in this area. I am enclosing a copy of her letter and hope you can respond at an early date.

Sincerely,


Samuel L. Devine, M.C.

SLD/jdk

Enc.

ENCLOSURE

REC-100

100-439048-2586

25 MAR 11 1969

p/acc

Mar 3, 1968

Dear Congressman Dwyer,

I would appreciate your
sending me any literature
available on the following
Students for Democratic
Society - Students Rights
Organization (PTA)
As Program Chairman

b7C

I am interested in providing
our PTH. with information
on the activities of these groups.
The allegation has been made
that these groups are communist
backed. In the past 3-4 weeks
our schools have been in a
turmoil and we feel that
these organizations are res-
ponsible.

100-439048-2586
ENCLOSURE

March 10, 1969

100-439048-2586

Honorable Samuel L. Devine
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Mr. DeLoach has shown me your letter
of March 6th, with enclosure. In reply to your request,
I am enclosing some material concerning the Students
for a Democratic Society which I hope will be of assist-
ance to you. GENL

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5) Director's Testimony, 2-23-68, re Communist, Racial & Hate
An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism Groups
Reds on Campus
LEB Introd 9/68

Prevention of Violence
Director's Statement Before National Commission on the Causes and /
NOTE: Congressman Devine is a former SA and is on the Special Corres-
pondents List. His enclosure is a copy of a letter from an individual,
whose identity is not disclosed but appears to be a constituent, requesting
information concerning the SDS.

CEE:cam (4)

53 APR 11 1969

58 MAR 12 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 105-28323

MAR 13 1969

CONFIDENTIALGALINA V. UTEKHINA

On March 6, 1969, Mr. Norman McMill, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Department of State, advised a Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that Galina V. Utekhina, formerly Ambassador, Washington, D.C., had traveled to Chicago, Illinois, on March 5, 1969, and was to arrive on March 10, 1969, at the Chicago Airport.

The Utekhina, who is a Soviet citizen, is an automatic member of the U.S.S.R. lists. She is currently at the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Chicago.

Dept.
of State

ENCLOSURE

J.L.

retained 1/4/82
SM/RTY/5/13
2/13/78

ENCLOSURE 100-14

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ b1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-439048-2588 March 11, 1969

REC-64

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

Your letter of February 25th and a copy of the letter to you of February 28th from Mr. Joseph C. Goodwin, Central Intelligence Agency, were received on March 4th.

With regard to your request, I am enclosing ^{new} some material concerning the Students for a Democratic Society which I hope will be of help to you. It will not be possible to arrange for you to interview a Special Agent about this organization as detailed information in our files must be kept confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 22

MAR 11 1969

COMM-FBI

Enclosures (4)

Turbulence on the Campus

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

Reds on Campus

Director's Testimony 2-23-68 re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

1 - Baltimore - Enclosures (3)

NOTE:

NOTE Continued Page Two.

63 APR 11 1969 (4)

60 MAR 20 1969 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-439048-A S.F.E examiner 3/4/69
CHANGED TO
100-439048-47-A

SEP 11 1969

mH/SR

100-439048-2589
CHANGED TO
100-439048-19-92x

SEP 11 1969

MMH/SR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CD*

SUBJECT: NEW LEFT AND BLACK EXTREMIST GROUPS

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 11, 1969

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

By letter 3/4/69 Assistant Attorney General Yeagley requested Bureau prepare prosecutive summary reports on Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Black Panther Party (BPP) setting forth the potential witnesses and their availability so that consideration could be given to institute proceedings against these groups under Executive Order 10450. *b7C*

Yeagley letter also states it may be necessary later to make survey of electronic coverage of all offices, officers and attorneys of these organizations since recent Supreme Court decision indicated electronic interceptions must be given defense.

In the event legal proceedings are instituted against these organizations, we will consider the Department's request, and will make appropriate recommendation at that time as to whether disclosure of electronic coverage information is consistent with the best overall interests of the Bureau.

OBSERVATIONS:

Preparation of prosecutive summary reports on BPP and SDS would cause considerable drain on manpower in the field and would be repetition of information previously furnished as the Department has already received all pertinent reports concerning SDS and BPP. It is believed that these reports will provide an adequate basis for a determination to be made regarding desirability of instituting proceedings against the two organizations. Furthermore, in the event the Department desires to be informed regarding the availability of any of the informants or other individuals who furnished information contained in these reports, the Bureau will make such a determination upon request.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached letter to Assistant Attorney General Yeagley be approved.

Enclosure *3-12-69*
100-439048
1 105-165706 (BPP)

APR 11 1969

(8)

MAR 25 1969

MAR 14 1969

2590

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO: Mr. Bishop *EB*

DATE: March 11, 1969

FROM: M. A. Jones *WCI*

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL
SECURITY (HCIS)
HEARINGS CONCERNING STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Donald G. Sanders, Chief Counsel of HCIS (a former Agent Supervisor in the Administrative Division who resigned 2/4/69), advised on 3/10/69 the Committee had voted to concentrate on campus violence and particularly SDS. He stated the press release made did not specifically identify SDS as the target; however, this will be the area of concentration.

Sanders stated he now has all his investigators and several research people reviewing all material available to them so they can pick out from six to twelve schools on which to concentrate. He said that plans are to deal with activities subsequent to June, 1968. He stated their plans are to send investigators to the school areas selected in an attempt to reach original sources. He said they hope to get away from dependence on news clippings and police intelligence reports as the main sources of information for their hearings. He said their investigators will talk with people involved in the unrests, seeking first-hand information.

Sanders stated he will coordinate their operations with us to insure they do not encroach on our activities and in the hope that we will assist them by providing leads to information and possible sources. He said they would be particularly interested in former SDS members who might be able to testify before the Committee, adding they would appreciate any leads we might be able to provide in this regard. Sanders also said the Committee would be happy to hear any witnesses we might want to testify either in public or executive sessions. He will let us know the target schools as soon as they are selected.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division for consideration of any possible assistance we may render to the Committee in connection with their planned hearings on SDS.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
DWB:jmb

1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. Sullivan

NOT RECORDED

MAR 25 1969

INT SEC
104
TJB

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

☒ Callahan
☐ Conrad
☐ Felt
☐ Gale
☐ Rosen
☒ Sullivan
☐ Tavel
☐ Trotter
☐ Tele. Room
☐ Holmes
☐ Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: March 17, 1969

SUBJECT: HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL
SECURITY (HCIS)
HEARINGS CONCERNING STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Memorandum 3/11/69 M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop, attached, states HCIS has voted to concentrate on campus violence and particularly SDS. Donald Sanders, Chief Counsel of HCIS, has advised the committee will coordinate its operations with us and to insure they do not encroach on our activities, hope we will assist them by providing leads to information and possible sources.

We do not have any data available to furnish HCIS concerning the identities of sources who will be able to provide ECIS with information they desire. There is enclosed, however, various public source material concerning SDS which may be of some benefit to HCIS.

This material is "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools," a paper prepared at recently held SDS Eastern Regional Conference; "An Introduction to SDS," a currently prepared leaflet by SDS; "High School Reform," a leaflet prepared by SDS; "Students for a Democratic Society, Front-Runner of the New Left," a study prepared at the Bureau in August, 1967; and an article in "Guardian" 1/18/69 captioned "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement" which concerns a resolution passed by SDS at an SDS National Council meeting in December, 1968.

RECOMMENDATION:

In line with above attached be referred to Crime Records Division for appropriate action.

Enclosures - 6

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [REDACTED]

12 MAR 25 1969

NOT RECORDED

170 MAR 26 1969

70 APR 14 1969
70 APR 14 1969

Handled 3-21-69
with Don Sanders
Dul 3/8

March 20, 1969

To: SAC, Albany

From: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RE: COMMUNIST OR INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY (COWS) **C**
INVESTIGATION OF CRIMINALS FOR A
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY (LRS)

Barthelme, Chief Counsel of HCB, on 3/18/69, advised
that the LRS had been dispatched that date to conduct investigations
at the following colleges and universities: Wayne State University,
Detroit, Michigan; Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; University of
Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; West Point, West Point, New York; Cornell University, Ithaca,
New York; and University of California, Berkeley, California.

The investigation has been told that they can conduct no further
investigation from local FBI offices; however, some may visit your office
if you permit them to do so. I think they request any assistance
to be handled by Albany to submit their request through Committee Chair-
man Lohr to Boston Headquarters and you should promptly notify the
Bureau of the request.

For your information, Chairman Lohr has publicly announced
that the Committee is conducting a full inquiry into revolutionary violence with
intentions to involve some educational institutions. He has not publicly
mentioned the institutions nor has he stated that COWS is the target of this inquiry.

MAILED 52
MAR 20 1969
COMM-FBI

- Mr. DeLoach (detached)
- Mr. Bishop (detached)
- Mr. Sullivan (detached)
- NOTE: See Mr. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop Memo dated 3/20/69 captioned as above.

100-439048-

NOT RECORDED
690 MAR 23 1969

18 MAR 21 1969

53 APR 11 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

(Best available copy)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 11-7583-5964

Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 3/10/69

FROM : P. D. Putnam

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETYBTC+D cited by A.T.F. C.D.
DIV. OF DEPT. OF TREASURY

On March 7, 1969, [redacted] Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division (AT&F), Internal Revenue Service, called and advised that an AT&F undercover agent located at the University of Massachusetts, in Massachusetts, stated that on March 18, 1969, SDS is going to conduct protest demonstrations which will be national in scope. The undercover agent stated that these demonstrations are to be held, he believes, in support of a situation on the West Coast where Army soldiers have been or are being tried for mutiny. He could furnish no additional details.

ACTION:

For information of the Internal Security Section.

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - P. D. Putnam

PDP:sc/clb
(4)

REC 82 100-439048-2593

15 MAR 17 1969

53 APR 11 1969

(35)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 3/19/69

FROM : *MWJ/WEC*
SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY *CENTRAL*
IS - SDS

Re Bulet dated 3/5/69 forwarding an undated leaflet captioned, "SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES and DIRECTION OF SDS".

A review of this leaflet would indicate that it had been prepared by someone other than an SDS member and in fact would indicate that it was prepared by either a government agency or some person who was making an analysis of the program, activities and present posture of SDS. Nothing has come to Chicago's attention that would remotely indicate that this was in fact an SDS publication.

Because of the above no further attention will be given this matter.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RRG:pmd
(3)

3 SA L 1203 REC-31
100-439048-2475
1 MAR 21 1969
INW/REC.

APR 1 1969

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI WASH DC+

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 18 1969

TELETYPE

FBI CHICAGO

250PM URGENT 3/18/69 DJS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048), BOSTON, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DETROIT,
HOUSTON, LOS ANGELES, NEW ORLEANS, NEW YORK, OKLAHOMA CITY,
SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO, AND WASHINGTON FIELD
WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), NATIONAL COUNCIL (NC)
MEETING MARCH TWENTY SEVEN DASH THIRTY, SIXTY NINE, UNIVERSITY OF
TEXAS, AUSTIN, TEXAS, IS DASH SDS.

RE SAN ANTONIO TEL MARCH EIGHTEEN INSTANT.

[REDACTED] ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE
REACTION OF SDS NATIONAL LEADERS REGARDING CANCELLATION OF
NC MEETING AT UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS. AS THIS HAS RECEIVED
PUBLIC ATTENTION VIA PRESS COVERAGE ALL OFFICES REQUESTED
TO ALERT KEY INFORMANTS FOR REACTION FROM VARIOUS REGIONAL
LEADERS AND ADVISE ALTERNATE PLANS TO HOLD NC MEETING.
END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

66MAR 20 1969

Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

REC-123

100-439048-252

b7c

100-439048-2596
CHANGED TO
100-439048-52-76X

SEP 11 1964

MH/SR

100-439048-2598
CHANGED TO
100-439048-45-162x

SEP 11 1969

mH / SR

100-439048-2599
CHANGED TO
100-439048-26-187x

SEP 11 1969

MH/SK

FBI

Date: 3/18/69

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re San Antonio airtel dated 3/7/69 reflecting the possibility that the National Committee (NC) meeting will be held other than at the University of Texas

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Antonio (RM) (100-9833)
- 1 - Chicago

RRG/sjt
(6)

REC-12

10' 129048-260

18 MAR 19 1969

11% 12 3 45 67 1202

BEZ. 2004 111577 DIA

INT/SEC.

Approved:

Sent

—M

Per

3 0 MAR 28 1969 Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-40903

[REDACTED]

It was noted that the Chicago "Sun Times" in its issue of 3/16/69 carried an article indicating that the University of Texas had refused SDS in its efforts to hold the forthcoming NC meeting at that university.

[REDACTED] b1

100-439048-2602

CHANGED TO

100-439048-34-439

APR 15 1969

CR/1054

Date of Mail 3-24-69

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL*Handwritten: "Handwritten for a documented Society (Special)"*

Removed By

98 MAR 23 1969

File Number

100-454878-5004

Permanent Serial Charge Out

Date: MAR 11 1969

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-44715) (P)

SUBJECT: NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
DEMONSTRATION
2/25/69
IS - SDS; STAG

(OO: Chicago)

Re Chicago teletypes, 2/20, 24, 25, and 26/69.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) regarding a demonstration on 2/25/69, at Northwestern University (NU), Evanston, Illinois, Campus, staged in protest of Dow Chemical Company recruiters being on campus that date, by NU Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

③ - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)

10 - Chicago

1 - 100-40902 (SND)

EX-108

LBC:nss
(13).

195 722 745

1cc N/R destroyed

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

APR 3 - 1969

AGENCY: ACSI, UNI, OSI, SEC. SER., OTHER

139 (159, 640, CD) IDIU

DATE FORW. 3-12-68

NOW FORW: 5/5

BY: *[Signature]*

Sent

MAR 13 1969

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
F.D. INFORMATION.

MAILED COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. FILED IN 62-112227-62
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN b7C

[REDACTED] b7d

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Confidential~~ to adequately protect [REDACTED] who is of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could have an adverse effect on the security of the country. b7d

Only those individuals and organizations were characterized herein where sufficient identifying data was contained in the files of the Chicago Office to subversively characterize those individuals and/or organizations.

[REDACTED] City
[REDACTED] those
individuals [REDACTED] and/or those individuals being
members of SDS.

Copies of the enclosed LHM are also being furnished locally to the USA, Chicago, the Secret Service, Chicago, and the Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, in view of their continuing interest in matters of this nature.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

MAR 11 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-44715

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

[REDACTED] advised that the Northwestern University (NU) Chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), at Evanston, Illinois, were planning to sponsor a demonstration on February 25, 1969, against representatives of the Dow Chemical Company, who will be recruiting on the NU Campus that date. b7d

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

[REDACTED] b7d

Jeff Rice

The "Daily Northwestern," the daily student publication at NU, Evanston, Illinois, in the December 2, 1968, issue, carried an article entitled, "Disenchanted SDS Members Restructure Group, Elect Rice." The article stated in part that as part of a "radical revamping" of NU SDS structure, freshman student Jeff Rice was elected as their new secretary.

[REDACTED] b7d

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON ALL 4/11 DECLASSIFIED ON 4/11/77
BY 100-44715-115

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

4-20-69
100-44715-115

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ENCLOSURE Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification
100-44715-115

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

[REDACTED] advised that Dow Chemical Company officials are aware of the plans for a possible demonstration against their recruiters but that they have notified NU that the recruiters will still appear. [REDACTED]

[redacted] advised that the following "schedule of events" regarding the demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company on February 25, 1969, [redacted]

9:00 a.m. Rally at the NU Student Placement Center (SPC), 1940 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois, site of recruiting activities by Dow representatives.

At some unspecified time following this rally, participants are to

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

break down into small "interest groups" for the purpose of "discussing the issues". (The "issues" were not further defined.)

12:00 noon Demonstrators will reassemble at the SPC for a second rally, at which time further activities will be undertaken. Further details concerning this rally were not made available. The source further advised that efforts of SDS over the past weekend had been largely unsuccessful, and very little student interest in the demonstration had been generated.

[REDACTED] advised that the Dow Chemical Company recruiters had arrived on campus that morning as scheduled, and at 9:00 a.m., approximately 20 demonstrators arrived at the SPC, where the recruiters held interviews, led by Dale Brandt, and from that time until approximately 12:00 noon, there was no activity, except for Brandt's almost continuous efforts with a bull horn to attract more students and increase the size of the crowd. b7d

[REDACTED] advised that by shortly after noon, approximately 200 individuals, mostly NU students and faculty, had gathered on the front lawn of, or across the street from, the SPC. At approximately 12:15 p.m., 20 - 30 demonstrators moved out onto Sheridan Road and proceeded to distribute anti-Dow literature to motorists. This source further advised that of the approximately 200 people in the area of the SPC, only about 50 individuals were actually participating in the protest, and the others were merely curiosity seekers. b7d

5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

On February 25, 1969, [redacted] advised that at about 12:15 p.m., several protestors moved onto Sheridan Road and created a traffic bottleneck and safety hazard by blocking the street to vehicle traffic. The Evanston Police Department appeared and ordered the demonstrators to clear the street, which order was ignored. This source further advised that after a second attempt to clear Sheridan Road had failed, Evanston Police arrested six individuals on charges of disorderly conduct. The source stated that during this period following the arrival of the police, the crowd increased noticeably in size. The source stated that those arrested were white male students at NU, as follows:

b7d

Stephen Jalmar Bowden
Date of Birth (DOB) [redacted]

1542 Jonquil Terrace
Chicago, Illinois
Freshman

b7c

Bruce E. Cory
[redacted]

5208 South Leavitt Street
Chicago, Illinois
Junior

b7c

Jerome Hyman
[redacted]

3124 West Carmen Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
Sophomore

b7c

Maury Steven Lubet
[redacted]

7661 North Rogers
Chicago, Illinois
Junior

b7c

David S. Shimasaki
[redacted]

5548 North Greenview
Chicago, Illinois
Sophomore

b7c

3

CONFIDENTIAL

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969

Ronald J. Zach
[REDACTED] b7c
2301 Clay Street
St. Joseph, Missouri
Sophomore

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] b7d
This source further advised that the arrival of police caused the crowd to increase to about 400 persons.

This source stated that approximately 100 students, most of whom appeared to be fraternity members or athletes, began to heckle and jeer at the anti-Dow group, which precipitated several minutes of yelling back and forth in addition to a few raw eggs being thrown at the Dow protestors. The source stated that there were, however, no significant incidents between groups.

[REDACTED] advised that the demonstrators dispersed from the SPC at 2:30 p.m., and approximately 100 - 150 proceeded to Scott Hall on the NU Campus, where Dean Hinz has his office. About 10 - 15 protest leaders met with Hinz, who gave permission for the demonstrators to hold an all-night meeting in Scott Hall. [REDACTED] b7d

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] advised that the students who had protested against Dow Chemical on February 25, 1969, and later that day met with Dean Hinz had formulated a list of demands at that meeting and presented them to Hinz. Those demands were as follows: b7d

1. Removal of the SPC.
2. Sale of NU's \$800,000 worth of Dow Chemical Company stock.
3. Amnesty or, at the minimum, NU-provided legal aid for the six students arrested at the Dow protest on February 25, 1969.

[REDACTED] advised that approximately 150 students had stayed in Scott Hall during the preceding night and that the group had been orderly and had inflicted no damage on NU property. The source further advised that all the students had left the building by 6:30 a.m. and that no plans had been discussed regarding any further demonstrations. b7d

Copies of this communication are being furnished to the following agencies:

The United States Attorney
Chicago, Illinois

The United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

The Region 1, 113th Military
Intelligence Group
Evanston, Illinois

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969**

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois
MAR 11 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-44715

Title NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY DEMONSTRATION
FEBRUARY 25, 1969

Character

Reference Memorandum dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

1 [redacted] b7C

3/21/69

1 [redacted] b7C

Airtel

To: SACs, Albuquerque
Boston
Chicago
Cleveland
Dallas
Denver
Detroit
Houston
Los Angeles

Las Vegas
New Orleans
New York
Milwaukee
Oklahoma City
San Antonio
San Francisco
Springfield
WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY — GENERAL
IS - SDS

[redacted]

[redacted]

During the council meeting, Albuquerque should submit to the Bureau a daily teletype summarizing the activities of each day's session including the workshops that will be held in conjunction with the general meetings. At the conclusion of the council meeting, Albuquerque will incorporate all pertinent information into a report. This report will contain a summary of the proceedings of the meeting with particular emphasis being placed on reporting information

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WNP:lvh
(42)

MAILED 23
MAR 21 1969
COMM-FBI

REC-21

2606
19 MAR 24 1969

69 [redacted] TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Albuquerque
RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
100-439048

depicting the extent of participation in the meeting by subversive elements. The identities of all subversive groups including SDS and individuals with subversive backgrounds should be included in this report.

[REDACTED] b7d

The Bureau is especially interested in all matters concerning current and future programs of SDS which will be discussed at the meeting.

[REDACTED] b7d

[REDACTED] b7d

In this regard, national leaders of SDS have recently traveled to or are intending to travel to California for contact with leaders of the Revolutionary Union, a militant covert pro-Chinese, Marxist - Leninist organization. This group has been attempting to discredit PLP in the eyes of the Red Chinese and while numerically small, will be in a position to help SDS in its factional battle with PLP.

As many of the delegates attending the council meeting should be identified as possible and appropriate investigation conducted for the purpose of determining whether or not the individual should be included on the Security Index. The Bureau is to be advised under individual caption the results of the investigation conducted with the field's recommendation concerning the Security Index status of the delegate.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

MAR 19 1969

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC*

FBI CHICAGO

1125AM URGENT 3/19/69 DJS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048), SPRINGFIELD, MILWAUKEE, BOSTON, DALLAS,
CLEVELAND, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, OKLAHOMA CITY,
SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO, WASHINGTON FIELD
WASHINGTON FIELD VIA WASHINGTON
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7c

b7c

U

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) NATIONAL COUNCIL (NC)
MEETING MARCH TWENTYSEVEN - THIRTY NEXT, UNIV. OF TEXAS, AUSTIN,
TEXAS; IS-SDS.

RE SAN ANTONIO AND CHICAGO TELS MARCH EIGHTEEN LAST

RETELS REFLECT CANCELLATION OF NC MEETING AT UNIV. OF TEXAS
BY TEXAS AUTHORITIES.

b1

26.08

MAR 25 1969

5-mp

END PAGE ONE
100-280
100

TRUE COPY

Sunday

[REDACTED] b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have been trying to find articles published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that prove that the Students for Democratic Society is a communist backed group. My mother said that she has read some of them, but she no longer has them. I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me some of the findings of the F. B. I. so that I could publish them in our school newspaper. We are having mass student protests now at [REDACTED] and I am afraid that the SDS may see this opportunity and take it. Thank you.

/s/ Sincerely, [REDACTED] b7C

REC-10

100-1137042-160

MAR 25 1969

9/2

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have been trying to find articles published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation that prove that the Students for Democratic Society is a communist backed group. My mother said that she has read some of them, but she no longer has them. I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me some of the findings of the F. B. I. so that I could publish them in our school newspaper. We are having mass student protests now at [REDACTED] and I am afraid that the SDS may see this opportunity and take it. Thank you

Sincerely,

CORRESPONDENCE

b7c

March 20, 1969

REC-10

100-439048-2609

Dear [REDACTED] b7C

Your letter was received on March 18th and we can understand the concern which prompted you to write.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. This association of young people has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status and denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam. It also seeks to "radically transform" the university community and to provide for its complete control by students. The SDS is infiltrated by Communist Party members, and Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the party has "going for us."

In view of your interest, I am enclosing some material concerning the SDS which may be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover [REDACTED] b7C

Enclosures (4)

Reds on Campus

Turbulence on the Campus

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

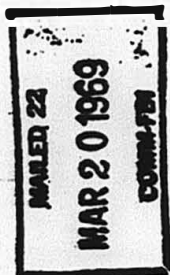
Director's Testimony 2-23-68 re Communist, Racial and Hate Groups

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

LMG:esd (3)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

9 APR 5 1969



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

VIA TELETYPE
MAR 21 1969
ENCIPHERED

Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

WA 01 1258 PM EMS

URGENT 3-21-69 EXP

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) AND WFO (100-47172) PLAINTEXT

VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS- SDS.

RE WFO TELETYPE, MARCH TWENTY, LAST.

WFO, ADVISE IF ANY OTHER DETAILS KNOWN RE THIS ALLEGATION.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO ADVISE IF CONTACT WITH IRS MORE
APPROPRIATE THROUGH LIAISON IN WASHINGTON RATHER THAN
CHICAGO DUE TO UNSPECIFIED NATURE OF ALLEGATION.

END

WLM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPED TO:

WFO

59 APR 1 - 1969

cc - Liaison

22 MAR 25 1969

MAR 21 1969

TELETYPE

Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

133PM URGENT 3/21/69 LEC

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048) DALLAS (100-10993) AND
NEW YORK (100-148047)
FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). IS - SDS.

RE DALLAS TELETYPE MARCH EIGHTEEN, LAST, REQUESTING INFORMATION ON MARK RUDD.

[REDACTED] HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE PROPOSED TRAVEL OF RUDD TO DALLAS. THEY ADVISED, HOWEVER, THAT RUDD HAS MADE NUMEROUS SPEECHES IN THE COUNTRY IN BEHALF OF SDS. FURTHER, HIS APPEARANCE IN DALLAS PROBABLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH FORTHCOMING NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING SCHEDULED MARCH TWENTY-SEVEN THROUGH THIRTY, NEXT, AUSTIN, TEXAS

END

S SAA

FBI WASH DC

APR 7 1969

REC-124

EX-112

MAR 25 1969

100-439048-2612

